11

# *FACTION UNMASK'D,*

BY THE

# EVIDENCE OF TRUTH;

IN A

# LETTER

FROM AN

## OLD MEMBER OF THE LATE,

TO

## A NEW MEMBER OF THE PRESENT PARLIAMENT.

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Factions are never ſo dangerous to the freedom of the People, as when they are connived at, and tampered with by a Court.—When the Phyſician and the Diſeaſe are agreed, the Patient, let his Conſtitution be ever ſo good, cannot laſt long.

*Dr. Campbell's Hiſtory of Europe, edit.* 1757, *p.* 257.

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*BATH, PRINTED:*

AND SOLD BY J. RIDGWAY, YORK-STREET, ST. JAMES'S, LONDON.

M,DCC,XC.

[Price Half-a-Crown.]

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A

# LETTER, &c.

*Dear Sir,*

AT your requeſt I have endeavoured to recollect ſome of the principal points of our late converſation at ———. And, although, the facts adduced, and the arguments we uſed, may not be ſo perſuaſive, and cogent, as thoſe of Mr. *Purveyor* ROBINSON; yet, as we both agree, they will bear the light much better, and are infinitely more proper for public examination, I have the leſs reluctance in indulging your partiality.

We began, if my memory does not deceive me, with ſome remarks on the Revolution, in 1688; as the proper data or ground of political diſquiſition. It was your own obſervation, that an Hiſtorian of undiſputed credit, aſcribes the origin* of the liberties of Rome to the

* Livy. Libertatis originem inde magis, &c. lib. ii. cap. 1.

expulſion of the *Tarquins*.——On the ſame principle, the inhabitants of theſe kingdoms date the eſtabliſhment of their liberties, from the expulſion of the Stuarts. Happy had it been for both Empires, if the people of each had, at theſe epochs, made a better uſe of the advantages they then obtained; and had formed ſuch a ſyſtem of Government as ſhould, at ſtated periods, have returned to its original principles; and thereby given to the people occaſional opportunities to correct ſuch innovations as the abuſes of power had committed, and to incorporate ſuch improvements as the experience of time had produced.

A return to firſt principles is a general theorem of Philoſophers, as well as of Politicians. But it is not in the excellence of human wiſdom to foreſee future events. If Queen *Elizabeth* could have foreſeen the evils ſhe introduced, and the miſchiefs ſhe entailed upon the next generation, by permitting the acceſſion of the Stuarts, ſhe would undoubtedly have ſettled the Succeſſion to the crown agreeable to her Father's Will. Henry had certainly very good reaſons for excluding the Stuarts. It is not worth the indulgence of idle curioſity at this day, to enquire what would have been the benefits, or who would have been the Succeſſors under that Monarch's Will.

After reigning in England about eighty-five years, this race of *Stuarts*, whom *Henry the Eighth*

*Eighth* intended ſhould never have croſſed the Tweed, and whom even *Robertſon* ſtiles "the moſt ancient and faithful allies of the French crown*," were driven from the throne of theſe kingdoms, by the virtue and ſpirit of the Engliſh nation. The Revolution ſettled the Succeſſion in another Line. Affinity of blood was not the motive. That was the only plea. The *Duke of Hanover* owed his elevation to nobler principles——to his attachment to the reformed religion——and to his abandonment of the Houſe of Bourbon. The Engliſh nation took the latter circumſtance for an earneſt of his future conduct; generouſly refuſing to entertain a ſuſpicion, that it had been reſult of *deliberation*, on the proſpect of a crown. From the great number of thoſe Families who were, or who might have been Candidates for the Britiſh ſceptre, ſome nearer and ſome more remote in conſanguinity, the *Houſe of Brunſwick* was ſelected; becauſe they were, in reputation, the moſt oppoſite to the *Houſe of Stuart*. The people of theſe kingdoms could not err, in chuſing for their Sovereigns, whoever were the reverſe of the *Stuarts*.

In purſuing the conſideration of this great example, ſo ſplendidly ſet before us by the laſt generation, and the benefits which have been,

* Charles V. book 6.

or ought to have been, derived from it, we ſhall ſee how far we have fulfilled our Duty: whether we have failed in our attention to any of the great points of Liberty; and whether there has been, or is, at this preſent time, any neceſſity for recurring to the firſt principles of our conſtitution, in order to obtain a reſtoration of any powers, if any have been loſt, abſorbed, mutilated, or diminiſhed, which belong to the Legiſlative, or the Executive Branches of Government; or tending to weaken or deſtory that juſt equipoiſe amongſt them, in which conſiſts the beauty and happineſs of the Britiſh Conſtitution.

And for the clearer ſtatement of theſe Points, in order to develope and aſcertain, with preciſion and certainty, that neglected, but important object of attention, by ſome called *Party*; but more juſtly called FACTION, I ſhall divide the whole into certain Heads or Sections, for the ſeparate conſideration of each; which will preſerve a neceſſary perſpicuity that may aſſiſt the memory.

## PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

THE old diſtinction of *Court* and *Country Party* has, by a change of manners, as well as of principles, become, like an extinct peerage, dead for want of heirs; or at beſt, fallen into

into abeyance. And the more juſt diſtinction, becauſe the better founded, of *Whig* and *Tory*, becomes leſs apparent as the cauſe which gave riſe to it eſcapes from the memory; and new evils taking place, abſorb the ſmart of former wounds, in the more acute pains of recent inciſion.

But a *new* Party has ariſen in the preſent reign, which has far exceeded any of the former, in malediction, in oppreſſion, in hypocriſy, in controul, in efficiency; and in every conſideration, excepting dignity and ability, that ever appeared in this Country. Although the conduct of this party has given all the *traits* of the preſent reign; yet, by never taking an oſtenſible ſituation, it has never formed a prominent feature in the *official* departments of the State. And by that cautious and artful demeanour, has eſcaped the proper obſervation of the Public; who have thereby been, too often, induced to attribute the miſmanagement of national meaſures, to the miſconduct and inability of miniſters; when the ſame ought to have been wholly and excluſively aſcribed, to the clandeſtine manœuvres, and private intrigues, of this *ſecret Party*, or now more properly denominated SECRET FACTION.

This Faction during the life, and generally ſuppoſed Influence of the late *Princeſs of Wales*

was uſually diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of the *Junto*. When ſhe died, thoſe perſons who were acquainted with the communications between *Carlton* and *Buckingham-Houſes*,—— thoſe perſons in office who ſubmitted to this *Junto*——and thoſe who had been turned out for refuſing to ſubmit——alike flattered themſelves with the hopes that this Syſtem of Government would have died alſo. But the principles of it had been ſo deeply inculcated, and the confidential perſons to whoſe care it had been entruſted, had gained ſuch an invincible aſcendency, that no abatement in either has been permitted; notwithſtanding the many changes of men, which have been made ſince that time in all the reſponſible offices.

The firſt mention we have of ſuch a *Junto*, or *Faction*, is by the Spaniſh Hiſtorians, upon the death of *Charles the Second*; which they ſay, acted under the auſpices of *Anne of Auſtria*, and in direct uſurpation of the rights of her ſon. For ſome time her favourite *Nitard*, was at the head of this Junto, (the Spaniards, from whom we have the word, as well as the application, write *Junta)* but afterwards one *Valenzuela*, a younger man, was honoured with the Royal Female confidence. During the influence of this Junto, the Spaniſh dominions in Italy were loſt, and the power of

Spain

Spain was conſiderably diminiſhed. *Campbell* ſays*, "Theſe meaſures had a very bad effect. The common people in Spain are born politicians, and it is not eaſy to conceive with what freedom, and with how much good ſenſe, they talk of public affairs. In all the great cities the common Diſcourſe of thoſe times was, that they were an undone people, their King a child; the reins of government in the hands of a woman. One may well perceive that theſe diſcourſes were not very wide of truth."

*Iſabel of Bavaria*, wife of Charles the Sixth, played the ſame game in France; being wholly attached to the *encreaſe of her treaſures*. She entruſted her Junto during the King's inſanity, as well as during the *interval* of his *ſeeming* recovery, with the government and management of the Kingdom, to the infinite prejudice, as well as ſhameful inſult of the Heir Apparent; for never were the affairs of France in ſuch a ſtate of diſtraction as during the reign of this Maniac. His Son, and Succeſſor Charles VII. recovered all his father had loſt, and is by all the French writers deſervedly ſurnamed *the victorious*.

The conduct of *Catherine of Medicis*†, and many others, might be cited, as analogous to

* His State of Europe, edit. 1755, p. 321.
† Queen of Henry the Second of France.

that

that of *Anne of Auſtria*, and *Iſabel of Bavaria*, if it were neceſſary to enlarge upon this point; but it is not. There wanted no *Maintenons* nor *Pompadours* in thoſe days. Theſe Queens were well inſtructed by their *Garde des Robes*, the *Garde des Seaux*, and *les Eſpion du Cabinet*, in all the uxorious and political arts of Government.

## TENURE OF OFFICE.

The Tenure by which every reſponſible office has been held during the preſent reign, was formed in that Syſtem of Government which was firſt laid down at Leiceſter-Houſe; by which the Court was ſeparated from the miniſtry, the miniſtry from Parliament, and Parliament from the nation. Disjunction was the motto, the maxim and the principle; and it was carried into ſuch full execution, and purſued into ſuch remote ſituations, that not only the ſocieties of locality, and the friendſhips of Youth, but the affections of Brothers, and the Duties of Sons, were all ſacrificed at the foot of this Infernal Pedeſtal. Nothing ſurely could exceed the wickedneſs of this Syſtem, taken in either a public or a private Senſe; and yet it unfortunately ſo happened, that the Public either did not obſerve the leading trait of it, or the ſtrong impreſſion of happineſs

pineſs enjoyed in the late reign ſo warmly encouraged a ſimilar ſtate in the preſent—— this great change in the Conſtitution, did not provoke that reſentment which it might have juſtified. But we have had ample opportunity ſince, to diſcover what our credulity at that period has coſt us. Thirteen flouriſhing Provinces in America, and many valuable Iſlands, are ſevered from the Britiſh Crown for ever, by this *new* Syſtem of Government; which continues to involve us in miſery and oppreſſion. Had we reſiſted it at the threſhold, and thereby reſtored the energy of Government and the dignity of Parliament, we ſhould not have had to lament, at this day, the Influence of *Lord Bute*, the advice of *Lord Bath*, nor the art of *Lord Mansfield*. If we look back, and take a view of only the bare liſt of places we have ſurrendered and loſt, the retroſpect muſt fill us with concern and ſorrow.

Since the acceſſion of his preſent Majeſty, there has been ceded

*To France,*

Martinico,
Guadaloupe,
St. Lucia,
Tobago,
Mariegalante,
Deſirade,
Belleiſle,

St. Pierre,
Miquelon,
Right of fiſhing and curing on Newfoundland and in the Gulf of St. Lawrence,
Goree,
Senegal,
Pondicherry,
Karikal, and all the Towns and Factories taken from France, in Bengal, Orixa, Coromandel, and Malabar.

*To Spain,*

Eaſt Florida,
Weſt Florida,
Louiſiance,
Havannah, with the Iſland of Cuba,
Falklands Iſland,
The Manillas,
Minorca.

*To Holland,*

Trincomale, and all the Dutch Settlements and Factories, which were taken during the late war.

*To America,*

New Hampſhire,
Maſſachuſets Bay,
Rhode Iſland, and Providence,
Connecticut,

New-

New-York,
New Jerſey,
Pennſylvania,
Delaware,
Maryland,
Virginia,
North Carolina,
South Carolina,
Georgia,
Beſides an immenſe loſs of men and money.

Our national debt is encreaſed to ſuch an enormous Sum, that the wiſeſt Perſons have abandoned all thoughts of its payment: and our taxation is encreaſed to the oppreſſion of the laſt nerve. Our dependencies are now but few——Ireland in Europe, Bengal in Aſia, and Jamaica in America, are the principal. And if the preſent ſyſtem of Government continues, and we may be allowed to judge of the future by the paſt; there is no hazard in ſaying, that ſome, if not all of theſe, will be alienated by another war. It is indifferent to the Public, who or what are the people who fill the oſtenſible departments——if there be not a total removal of *ſecret communication* and *ſecret influence*, the public intereſt never will be conſulted, nor the public ſafety ſecured.

If the King had not recovered in a manner that was almoſt miraculous, in what ſituation

would *Ireland* have been? She would, indeed, have been *ſeparately* faithful and examplary loyal to the *Prince*, becauſe he is beloved every where. But if this Faction had gone to war in that moment, would *She* have gone to war with them? Or what makes the difference to her, whether *they* go to war during the King's illneſs or his recovery? If Ireland is a *ſeparate* Nation, who has made her ſo? One would chuſe to touch this matter but lightly; becauſe men will feel for themſelves, and decide upon national, as well as individual rectitude. It is a point of great importance, and not entirely diſſimilar to the Taxation of America. If Ireland, without judging for herſelf, implicitly adopts the meaſures of a Scotch and German Cabinet, and thereby entails freſh burdens upon her people, without the moſt diſtant probability of profit, the evil is at her own door. England will not diſcharge thoſe burdens for her, and Scotland cannot.

Moſt fortunately for the Country, the Prince, and their Friends, the King's recovery happened when it was leaſt expected; and thereby prevented the execution of a deſign, the moſt malignant and wicked that ever diſgraced mankind. Providence has often moſt graciouſly protected theſe Iſlands from impending peril, but never from a greater

than

than was likely to befal us at that moment, nor in a manner more miraculous. The moſt ſuperficial obſerver, may, from the occurrences which have already happened, ſince the King's recovery, take a retroſpect of the dangers, which the intended Prince Regent has eſcaped, in only this ſhort ſpace of time.

The Faction propoſed giving a Government to His Royal Highneſs, that was weakened in many parts by a diminution, and in ſome parts by a total prohibition, of the moſt eſſential executive powers; and this at a time, as it now proves, when even the King's Government has been obliged to exert *all* the Royal Prerogatives, and to command every poſſible aſſiſtance. And to add to his Royal Highneſs's danger, his Government was to be traverſed by this *ſecret Faction*; who for that purpoſe, had ſecured ample power, and a *certain countenance*, ſufficient to execute this diabolical deſign——a deſign that for its turpitude has no parallel in the hiſtory of the world. Well knowing that they ſhould not be allowed to aſcend any *back ſtairs* at Carlton Houſe, for that the Prince's Government would aſſume an *official origin*, as well as an *official reſponſibility*, they dreaded the total annihilation of that favourite, confidential, and treacherous ſyſtem, by which they have maintained their influence and power——Like the Devil and his aſſociates,

aſſociates, when turned out of heaven, they contrived a Scheme to recover their former ſituation, or another that was not diſſimilar; and preferring the indulgence of their revenge, to the intereſts of their Country, they reſolved to ſacrifice the laſt to the gratification of the firſt,

> Though Heav'n be ſhut,
> And Heav'n's high arbitrator ſit ſecure
> In his own ſtrength, this place may lie expos'd;
> Here perhaps
> Some advantageous act may be achiev'd
> To poſſeſs all as our own.
> This would ſurpaſs
> Common revenge, and our joy upraiſe.
> Thus Beelzebub
> Pleaded his Deviliſh Counſel, firſt devis'd
> By Satan; for whence
> But from the Author of all ill, could ſpring
> So deep a malice.
> The bold deſign
> Pleas'd highly thoſe Infernal States, and joy
> Sparkled in all their eyes; with full aſſent
> They vote.*

It is not material where this Pandimonium was raiſed——Whether at the Agent's, or at the Principal's———Whether in Downing Street, or in Hertford Street. The Fact ought to alarm us all; and ought to convince us, that there is no Safety for either King or Country, until this *ſecret Faction* is entirely

* Milton.

eradicated

eradicated and driven from all the offices; and above all preſcribed thoſe private *têtes à têtes*, which have, for thirty years and upwards, continually diſtracted, and gradually diminiſhed this once great and flouriſhing empire.

All former parties have held themſelves reſponſible in character, at leaſt, for the juſtice and propriety of the principles they adopted, and the meaſures they recommended, or oppoſed; and offered themſelves openly to the judgment of their Country. But this latent, though omnipotent Faction, has no character. They are reſponſible only to their political creator: as individuals they are ſubalterns in their departments and janizaries in the Divan; they have their omrahs, their vakeels, and their mutes, to contrive, or to execute; to corrupt, or to deſtroy; always ready, "thoughts black, hands apt, and time agreeing*."

## Examples.

### *Lord Chatham, General Conway, Lord Rockingham.*

Lord Chatham had, at one time, the temerity to believe he could annihilate the influence of this Faction. But in little more

* Shakſpere. Hamlet.

than

than a year he found his miſtake. He confeſſed, in the Houſe of Lords, that he had been deceived. He confeſſed it, he ſaid, with ſhame, and with ſorrow. He affirmed, that there was a Secret influence, an inviſible power, whoſe pernicious counſels deſtroyed every ſalutary meaſure, had ruined every plan, and betrayed every man; there was no ſafety, no protection, againſt this malignity——but *proſtrate ſubmiſſion*. He himſelf had been duped when he leaſt ſuſpected it, at a time when the proſpect was fair, and the appearances of royal confidence were ſtrong; in particular, when he had formed ſeveral plans of the utmoſt importance, which had been approved in council, and to which the King had given his conſent; yet, in the lapſe of a few days, they all vaniſhed into thin air, " As for his majeſty, I do declare, that I always found every thing gracious and amiable in the cloſet. All the obſtacles and difficulties, which attended the formation, and execution, of public meaſures, aroſe not from thoſe who were *out of place*; they were invented, improved, and ſupported by that *inviſible influence* I have mentioned; and by the induſtry of *certain* dependents, firſt by ſecret treachery, then by official influence, and laſtly in council. A long train of theſe practices has convinced me, that there is ſomething

thing *behind* the throne that is greater than majeſty itſelf*."

When General Conway was Secretary of State, he was charged with ſubmitting to this *Secret Influence*.——He declared he knew nothing of it, he felt nothing of it, he ſaw nothing of it; but he found it in a little time after. And Lord *Rockingham* repeatedly declared to his friends, that if he was received one day more graciouſly than another, it was the day on which he was *turned out*.

This declaration of Lord *Rockingham* was neither made ſecretly, nor promulgated clandeſtinely; and it may be ſaid, with the ſtricteſt truth, when flattery can no longer be ſuſpected, that of all the men who were ever bred in a Court, his Lordſhip was a nobleman of the moſt peculiar delicacy, in relating either Court theme, or Royal apothegm; nor would he mention ſuch a fact, if the inference had not been too intereſting to be concealed, and too ſtrong to be miſtaken.

Of his Majeſty, Lord *Chatham* always ſpoke highly. He never threw a ſhade over the rays which illumine the Royal circle. He often ſaid *His Majeſty was the greateſt Courtier in his Court*.

* Vide Lord Chatham's Speech in the Houſe of Lords, when he quarelled with the Duke of Grafton.

Does Mr. *Pitt* not *bluſh* at theſe opinions of his Father? Does he pretend to Independence, and view Mr. Jenkinſon's peerage in his own adminiſtration, which had been repeatedly reſiſted by former Miniſters?——If there be ſuch a thing as ſuperiority in meanneſs, a ſtronger inſtance of it cannot be produced.

*Mr. Grenville, Lord Halifax; R—— interference on the repeal of the American Stamp Act, and on the rejection of Mr. Fox's India Bill; Dr. Poyntz, &c.*

In a little time after the acceſſion of his preſent Majeſty, all the old and faithful Servants of the Crown and Nation were diſmiſſed. In 1763 Lord *Bute nominally* retired; but firſt he placed a number of Clerks, Secretaries, and other confidential perſons, in all the offices of State; as *Spies* on the Miniſter of each department. Theſe *Spies* have conſtantly made known to their maſter, or his agents, every deſign, tranſaction, and diſpatch, in each office. Theſe are the perſons to whom Lord *Chatham* alludes in his ſpeech already mentioned.

Of all the miniſters during the preſent reign, there has not been one, except the preſent Mr. *Pitt*, ſo ductile and docile as the late

late Mr. *George Grenville*. Although his natural temper was very different, yet he kept ſuch a conſtant attention to his intereſt, that he made a ſacrifice of every paſſion to his avarice. And even he, notwithſtanding all his pliability, which had been experienced in almoſt a hundred inſtances, at length found himſelf ſo galled, duped, and inſulted, that having the *name* of Miniſter, he reſolved to aſſume the power;——and upon the firſt act of reſiſtance to the Faction he was turned out. He had been ſo completely duped, that for ſome days after his diſmiſſion, he had the vanity to believe the Court retained a partiality for him;——but when he ſaw that Mr. *Charles Jenkinſon*, whom he knew was the confident of Lord *Bute*, and whom he had carried to the late Duke of *Newcaſtle*, and for whom he had obtained a penſion; for writing a pamphlet on the ſeizure of the Dutch veſſels in 1757, and who for that, and other obligations, he thought would have followed him out of Court——when he diſcovered that Mr. *Jenkinſon* ſtayed behind, and that his credit was not diminiſhed at either Carlton Houſe or Buckingham Houſe, he then *ſaw*, what all the world knew before, that he had been the *dupe of Lord Bute's agent*——that the very man, who owed his original recommendation to him, was the very man who had

betrayed him. Perhaps no Gentleman ever felt the poignant ſting of ingratitude, ſo keenly as Mr. *Grenville* did upon that occaſion.

> Freeze, freeze thou bitter Sky,
> Thou doſt not bite ſo nigh
> As benefits forgot*.

The ſhare of affection which two of his Sons bear to the memory of their Father, is a matter that affects no private honour, nor any public intereſt.

The appointment of Miniſters has not been leſs diſtinguiſhed by this extraordinary predeliction, than their diſmiſſion. About the end of the year 1770, when Lord *Halifax* was ſeduced into the office of Secretary of State, in the room of Lord *Sandwich*, who went to the admiralty, in the room of Lord *Hawke* who was turned out; it was the intention of Lord *Halifax* to have appointed Mr. *Lovel Stanhope* his firſt *Commis*. Mr. *Stanhope* ſolicited it; and Lord *Halifax* promiſed it. It was a reward Mr. *Stanhope* thought himſelf entitled to, from the number of years he had been in the office; and he hoped now to attain it, from the long friendſhip that had ſubſiſted between Lord *Halifax* and himſelf. And it

* Shakeſpeare. As you like it.

is not leſs true, that Lord *Halifax* equally deſired it, from the confidence he had in Mr. *Stanhope*'s integrity. But his lordſhip was immediately told, that his deſire could not be granted, for that Mr. *Fraſer muſt be continued.* Lord *Halifax* again requeſted it, and was again refuſed. He then inſiſted upon it. This brought the matter to a criſis——what was to be done?——The diſpute could not be given up without danger to the Syſtem——A *Great Perſon* was produced——Lord *Halifax* ſaw, and ſubmitted. Mr. *Fraſer* was continued, and Mr. *Stanhope* had a penſion in lieu of the appointment*.

Lord *Rockingham* was removed becauſe he refuſed to ſubmit to the Faction.——In the debates on the *repeal* of the American Stamp Act, the then Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaſter (Lord *Strange*) declared in the Houſe of Commons, that a Great Perſon diſapproved of the meaſure; and added, that he had the Great Perſon's authority to make that declaration. In the Houſe of Lords, the noble Marquis affirmed the Contrary. A little time, however, ſhewed, that the Chancellor

* In the preſent day, young *Bernard* is *Commis* to the junior *Grenville*.——The analogy is juſt——Old *Bernard* was governor of Boſton at the time of the American Stamp Act. His Son has therefore an heriditary claim to the confidence of Mr. *Jenkinſon*.

of

of the Duchy was better informed than the firſt Lord of the Treaſury. The ſame ſort of official confidence ſubſiſts at this moment, for Lord *Hawkeſbury* is Chancellor of the Duchy.

This was the firſt time that a certain interference was declared by authority. Experience hath ſince convinced us, that if we had attempted to enforce the Stamp Act we ſhould have loſt the Colonies at that period. By the repeal of that obnoxious act, the Colonies were preſerved, and they would at this day have been invaluable parts of the Britiſh Empire, had we continued the Colonial Governments on the baſis, they were placed and left by Lord *Rockingham*. The ſecond interference, was on Mr. *Fox's India Bill*, by which the bill was loſt; and in both caſes the miniſtry loſt their places. But the wiſdom of Mr. *Fox*'s bill was admitted indiſputably, when his enemies, a little while afterwards, were obliged to adopt many parts of it, to amend their own crude, acrid effuſion of envy and malignity. Had Mr. *Fox*'s bill been paſſed, the preſent diſputes in India would in all probability have been prevented. The merits of Mr. *Fox*'s bill were neither denied nor diſputed. But a reſolution had been taken by the Faction concerning the government of India, ſome time before Mr. *Fox* came into office, and his bill

bill completely overturned and entirely destroyed their whole ſcheme concerning India. His bill was founded in principles, that maintained and preſerved the honour and ſafety of the Country, their reſolution, in a perſonal gratification of wealth and power. The power of the Crown which was made the *pretence* for oppoſing Mr. *Fox*'s bill, and by which the nation has been deceived, was totally out of the Queſtion. Mr. *Fox*'s view was extenſive and ſplendid——it was to unite the Intereſts of India and Britain: and therefore the reſolution of the Faction, had he been informed of it, would not have impeded or altered his deſign. The greateſt misfortune this Country has ſuſtained during the preſent century, next to the loſs of America, was the diſmiſſion of the Whig miniſtry in December, 1783.

His majeſty was ſurpriſed into an opinion, that Mr. *Fox*'s bill was a deprivation of the Conſtitutional Rights of the Crown. If we recollect the perſons who had the early formation of his Majeſty's mind, we ſhall be the leſs aſtoniſhed at an alarm ſo ſuddenly taken. It ſhould not excite our wonder that the alarm was without the leaſt foundation, but that a Prince of the Houſe of Brunſwick could ſo far forget himſelf, as to be perſuaded, his prerogative was invaded by the old, tried and natural Friends of his Houſe and Family.

This

This was indeed a Soleciſm, that neither an acquaintance with mankind, nor the experience of Hiſtory could explain. Had his Majeſty ever perceived in any of his Whig Friends, the leaſt attempt towards an encroachment on his Conſtitutional powers, or an invaſion of the exerciſe of the Royal Prerogative, in any matter or point, where the Royal will naturally or conſtitutionally ought to prevail, the fact might, and it would have convinced us, of the ſuppoſed propriety and pretended neceſſity of this extraordinary interference.

The odium of throwing the *negative* on the Crown, when the bill came for the Royal Aſſent, the Faction conceived might be too ſtrong; not only as a negative, under circumſtances ſo very ſingular, might excite the nation to an inveſtigation of the merits of the bill; but as it might produce a ſerious and dangerous enquiry, *who* were the adviſers of ſuch a *negative*. Therefore they took this *covert mode* of INFLUENCING the Proceedings of Parliament. The Houſe of Commons of that day they could not command: although the office of a manager was well known, the refinement of a *Purveyor* was not then matured; and at beſt it is but a ſhort tenure. But the Lords are for life; many of the Scotch, of the Biſhops, and of the Bedchamber, are dead weights

weights in the Scale of the Faction; but theſe were not enough to Counter-balance the juſt ſenſe of Public Intereſt which pervaded the Judgment of the independent Lords; another Influence was therefore reſorted to, in order to menace thoſe whom they could not perſuade, to controul thoſe whom they could not implore, and to command thoſe whom they could not ſolicit. This circumſtance gave riſe to the moſt conſtitutional motion, that ever was made in the Houſe of Commons*, "That it is *now* neceſſary to declare, that to report any opinion, or pretended opinion, of his Majeſty, upon any bill or other proceeding depending in either Houſe of Parliament, with a view to *influence* the votes of the members, is a high crime and miſdemeanor, derogatory to the honour of the Crown, a breach of the fundamental privileges of Parliament, and ſubverſive of the Conſtitution." This Reſolution is now upon the Journals, and effectually prevents a future interference of this kind. But as well to evade the force of this reſolution, as to take away the neceſſity of its operation, the Faction have proceeded to another, and if poſſible more dangerous exertion of power. This has been to create above *three dozen* of Peers ſince that time.

* Made by Mr. Baker, December 15, 1783.

A circumſtance that is not to be paralleled in our Hiſtory. The only inſtance that comes near to it is that of Queen *Anne*, who made *one dozen* for a particular Job, and this was univerſally complained of from all parts of the kingdom as a matter without precedent. It was reprobated in the ſtrongeſt terms, as a moſt daring and dangerous abuſe of the prerogative.

But now let us return to the Hiſtory of the principal meaſure; for this encreaſe of the Houſe of Lords, and the notorious management of the Houſe of Commons, notwithſtanding the apprehenſions they have moſt juſtly occaſioned, are but collateral ones in ſupport of it.

When Lord *Cornwallis*'s army had ſurrendered in America, the Faction gave up their wild project of conquering that immenſe Country. By this ſtroke they were brought to confeſs that America was loſt. And from that moment they directed their attention to Aſia. They ſaw they had loſt the patronage of America, which was the true cauſe of the war; and they reſolved to obtain or create a ſubſtitute of patronage in Aſia.

It is to be obſerved that the firſt and principal aim of the Faction in each of their projects is the entire, and excluſive poſſeſſion of all patronage; and to this reſolution, which

is extended to every department, they have ſacrificed every principle of public honour, and every conſideration of national intereſt. Sometimes the ſecret influence has appeared in one ſhape, and ſometimes in another. But to make our diſgrace the ſtronger, and our fall the greater, it has more than once appeared in a place where it ought never to have been ſuſpected*. Whatever we may be induced to ſay of ſovereignty, either in par-

* Amongſt the many inſtances, from the time of appointing Mr. Grenville to the Treaſury, to the time of removing the Duke of Portland from that poſt, that of rejecting Dr. Poyntz, and preferring Dr. Hamilton, on the claim of a *previous promiſe*, is recent in every one's memory. If a certain perſon can always be brought forward with his *promiſes*, the miniſter of the day is a Cypher. But it is the Faction who make theſe *promiſes*, and who perform them or break them, juſt as it ſuits their purpoſe. Common Fame ſpeaks of many *promiſes*; but one more inſtance will be ſufficient to ſhew the conveniency in producing them on certain occaſions. During the laſt time the Whigs were in office, it has been ſaid, that they recommended a ſhort liſt of Gentlemen, of unſpotted honour and independent character, to the Peerage; whoſe affluence and reſpectable ſituations, in private life, entitled them to the moſt eminent diſtinction; but the priority of a *promiſe*, to one gentleman (Mr. Ellis) who was not in the liſt, was brought forward in bar to the whole recommendation——yet this Gentleman has not been included in any of the many ſubſequent liſts. Is it not ſingular that this *promiſe* ſhould be ſo well remembered in the time of one adminiſtration, and ſo totally forgot in that of another?——Whenever the following Gentlemen are advanced to the Houſe of Lords, the nation will ſay the honours are well beſtowed and the luſtre of the Peerage is revived,

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|---|---|
| Lord G. A. Cavendiſh, | C. A. Pelham, |
| Sir Francis Baſſet, | J. Crewe, |
| Sir Thomas Dundas, | W. Plumer, |
| T. W. Coke. | |

tiality to the perſon, or in loyalty to the principle, certain abuſes and uſurpations of its privileges, duties and prerogatives, neither can, nor ought to be concealed; nor is it any diſreſpect to the perſon who wears the Crown, to arraign theſe acts. They are acts againſt the Conſtitution, becauſe the perſon of the King is unknown to the Law; ſome one or more privy Counſellors being anſwerable for every part of his conduct; and if the Sovereign does any thing without their knowledge, it is their duty to make it known to Parliament.

*Meeting at Mr. Jenkinſon's; meaſures ſettled there; diſmiſſion of Lord Sackville. Mr. Grenville, not the author of the Stamp Act. Lord Camden's Silence on the Tea Act. Reſignation of Lord North. Succeeded by the Whigs. Important Services of the Whig Adminiſtration. Death of Lord Rockingham. Succeſſion of Lord Lanſdown. Duke of Richmond's conſiſtency,* &c.

The firſt reſolution of the Faction, was to remove the American Secretary, although he had been the man of their own choice; yet as he had not accompliſhed the object of his appointment, that was a ſufficient reaſon for his diſmiſſion. This reſolution was taken at a meeting of the Cabinet of the Faction, at Mr. *Jenkinſon's.*

*Jenkinſon's.* At this meeting the Prominent feature of future meaſures was deſigned and fixed. It was reſolved, that the *name* of Secretary of State *for America* ſhould be extinguiſhed; but the office of a third Secretary of State ſhould be retained; and the buſineſs of Aſia, or more particularly of the Eaſt-Indies, ſhould be committed to this third Secretary, who ſhould have a new eſtabliſhment of Secretaries, clerks, &c. &c. And they farther reſolved, that this *third* Secretary ſhould be Mr. *Henry Dundas.* Whoever will take the trouble to note the day* of this meeting, and the buſineſs tranſacted there, will ſee the *origin* of thoſe meaſures imputed to Mr. *Pitt.* The plan was laid before he came into office. He was only called in to execute, what others had deſigned.

The plan or ſyſtem of meaſures by which America was loſt, was formed before Mr. *Grenville* came into office. Mr. *Jenkinſon* had candour to confeſs, that Mr. *Grenville* was not the author of the American Stamp Act. Neither the meaſure itſelf, he ſaid, nor the principle in which it was founded, were im-

* It was on the Second day of January, 1782. It was a Levee day, but the meeting was held before the Levee; and a report of the buſineſs was made as ſoon as the Levee was over. Lord Hillſborough and Lord Mansfield were preſent at the meeting: there were alſo three more perſons preſent, whoſe names may be printed hereafter; together with more particulars of this, and other meetings.

putable

putable to Mr. *Grenville*. See this fact ſtated in the Debates of 1777, page 214; the expreſſion is not quite accurately given, but it is ſtrictly right with reſpect to the Senſe intended to be conveyed. The inference therefore is obvious, that as Mr. *Jenkinſon* knew the miniſter of the day was not the author of the meaſure, he ſo pertinaciouſly ſupported, Mr. *Jenkinſon* muſt know to whom it ought more properly to have been aſcribed. This Fact diminiſhes the character of Mr. *Grenville* conſiderably——We view him incurring public odium, and ready to hazard the diſmemberment of the Empire, in no other character than the *Inſtrument* of Lord *Bute's Commis.*

The plan however was ſuſpended for a little time, when the Whigs came into office by the repeal of the Stamp Act, and other meaſures of conciliation; yet as ſoon as the Whigs were turned out, the plan was reſumed by the Tea Act, and other meaſures of hoſtility.

During the *nominal* adminiſtration of the Duke of *Grafton*, it became apparent to every one, that there was not only a double government, but a Syſtematic plan of Secret action and influence, in the direction of public meaſures. Until this period, it was ſuppoſed by many, that the Conduct of the Faction might be aſcribed to an ambitious paſſion, of ſuggeſting attempts, and trying experiments; but the revival of the unconſtitutional claim of

impoſing

impoſing Taxes upon America, which was contrary to every principle of Juſtice and policy, convinced every perſon, who was not proof againſt conviction, or miſled by *falſe-loyalty*, that there was a regular Syſtem, and plan laid down, of committing every intereſt to deſtruction, that was not devoted to the Faction. Even Lord *Camden*, who had ſupported the repeal of the American Stamp Act, became in his day, not leſs ſubſervient to the views of the Faction, than Mr. *Grenville* had been. He was Lord Chancellor at the time of impoſing the Tea Tax on America. The bill was brought into Council, into Parliament, and paſſed into a law, without the leaſt oppoſition from his lordſhip.

Lord *North*, as heir to the office of miniſter, upon the Duke of *Grafton*'s reſignation, had the misfortune to receive this act, in a manner that may be called an official legacy.——It may be ſome fault to enforce an obnoxious act, but it is a greater to make it. There is a wide diſtinction, between a miniſter executing his own laws, and acting upon ſubſiſting laws. In the firſt caſe, the policy may ſtill be a matter of conſideration: in the latter, it is to be preſumed, that the policy has been diſcuſſed and decided. And in this particular caſe, the great points of law and the Conſtitution, muſt be ſuppoſed to have been properly attended to, when ſo great and profound a

Lawyer, as Lord *Camden* was called, held the high office of Lord Chancellor at the time the act was made. He who affirmed, "we had no right to tax America," and thereby gave, as far as his opinion could give, legality to refuſal. On the promulgation of this aſſertion, America formed her principal ground of reſiſtance——Whether rightly, or not, is immaterial now. He who made the law, or conſented to its being made, while he held the higheſt poſt in the Law, is certainly not exonerated from his ſhare of the odium and evil conſequences of it——eſpecially when it is recollected, that before he was Lord Chancellor, he had, in the ſtrongeſt language, reprobated all taxation of America; "Whoever attempts it, he ſaid, attempts an injury; whoever does it, commits a robbery." What ſhall we ſay of this noble Lord, who, during the period he was Lord Chancellor of Great-Britain, ſuffered this Act to paſs, without making the leaſt oppoſition to it? Who after the departure of his friend, Lord *Chatham*, on account of the over-ruling influence of the Faction, remained in his poſt, and coaleſced with the *Bedfords*, (as he now does) who, if public conſiſtency ſignified any thing with ſuch men, were the moſt oppoſite to every opinion and principle, he had ever avowed and maintained.

—— In fair Hiſt'ry's impartial page,
Penn'd not in flatt'ring nor invective ſtrain,
Truth will report him to a future age,
No Stateſman, but a Courtier light and vain*.

Some weeks after the meeting at Mr. *Jenkinſon*'s Lord *North* reſigned. Upon that event the whole machinery of adminiſtration fell to pieces. The Faction were not prepared for this ſtroke: it deranged their whole ſyſtem: they ardently entreated him to go on ——not to ſubmit to a Majority of the Houſe of Commons; the power of the Crown was ſufficient to ſupport him: they uſed every argument that ingenuity could deviſe, and added every temptation that power could offer, to perſuade him to continue. But he had ſeen enough; and he was happy to eſcape from further ſnares. The ſolicitation to go on, when there was a Majority of the Houſe of Commons againſt him, was a direct invaſion of the firſt principles of the Conſtitution, and therefore he treated it with contempt.

At a prior conſultation, the Faction had reſolved to remove Lord *North* as ſoon as a proper ſucceſſor could be found. His Lordſhip, upon ſome points, had aſſumed a right to his own judgment.——This is a crime the Faction never forgive. The Treaſury had been offered to Lord *Gower*——to Lord *Weymouth* ——but it was the rule of the *Bedfords* never

* Soame Jenyns.

to take firſt places. Notwithſtanding theſe refuſals, the Faction did not abandon their reſolution——they had hopes of Lord *Gower*, and Mr. *Jenkinſon* was to have been Chancellor of the Exchequer. But this matter was poſtponed, until the arrangement for Mr. *Dundas* was ſettled, and the patronage of India was ſecured in their entire poſſeſſion. Lord *North*'s reſignation at ſo critical a time, put them into total confuſion.

The Whigs ſucceeded, and the plan of the Faction was again ſuſpended; but though "*Scotch'd, it was not killed**." Mr. *Burke*'s bill of reform was indeed a death-wound to the deſign of appointing Mr. *Dundas* Secretary of State for India. But Lord *Rockingham* dying in three months after their appointment, revived the ſpirits of the Faction, and ſet them to work to create a ſchiſm among the Miniſters. They had made one attempt, on the firſt day the new Miniſters appeared in Parliament, when they put Mr. *Eden* forward, with a precipitate, violent, malignant and diſtreſſing motion on the affairs of Ireland; but being oppoſed by the abilities of Mr. *Fox*, the deſign proved abortive; however it was obvious to every one. The death of Lord *Rockingham* furniſhed the Faction with a better opportunity of exerting their

* Macbeth.

influence.

influence. Among the beſt connexions, the principles of all the Members are not the ſame; there are always ſome who may be tempted to deſert*. Such men differ from the common ſoldiers in nothing but in rank. The latter are whipt or ſhot, and the former obtain places.

The Whigs, during the three months they were in office, regulated the expenditure of the Civil Liſt; aboliſhed many uſeleſs offices; checked the encreaſing influence of the Crown; excluded Contractors from ſeats in Parliament; and Revenue Officers from voting at elections. All theſe were meaſures of great importance to the people; they ſtrengthened the Conſtitution, and gave energy and dignity to Government. But they were ſo alarming to the Faction, and tended ſo effectually to deſtroy their power, that they ſeized the firſt opening of intriguing with Lord *Shelburne*; who, like his father-in-law, Lord *Carteret*, had too much ambition to act patiently as a Subaltern, and too

* Upon the death of General Monckton, which happened about ſix weeks before the death of Lord Rockingham, the Duke of Richmond made a requiſition of the Government of Portſmouth for Lord George Lennox; but Lord Rockingham thought that Lord Pembroke had a better claim to it, and preferred his Lordſhip to his Grace; upon which the Duke left the Whigs and attached himſelf to Lord Shelburne, whom he afterwards left and joined Mr. Pitt.——It is to be hoped we ſhall hear no more of his Grace's conſiſtency or diſintereſtedneſs.

much refinement to act ſteadily as a leader. This was the ſort of Character that ſuited their preſent purpoſe. They had no deſire to continue Lord *Shelburne*, becauſe he was a man of too much manœuvre to be managed at all points. They were not unacquainted with his verſatility, and therefore they gave him but little power; and he either had not the pocket-liſt of the Houſe of Commons, or in his precipitation forgot to claim it—— faſcinated with the proſpect of the Treaſury, he renounced what he ſuppoſed to have been the offered alliance of Lord *North*, which was ſaid to have been made, but which, if it was done, was without any authority whatever, and he took up with ſuch men as *T. Townſhend*, Lord *Howe*, Sir *George Yonge*, &c. the refuſe and deſerters of all parties; aſſuming to himſelf, in imitation of the late Lord *Chatham*, the grammatical character of a noun ſubſtantive. From this ſtrange motley of men, and more inexplicable diviſion of power, the Whigs found themſelves under the neceſſity of retiring.

There never was a reſignation ſo diſtinguiſhed and honoured by the affections of liberal men——notwithſtanding the trammels of profeſſion, and the limited bounds of ſtudy, all the eminence and eloquence of the Bar, of the three Superior Courts, were unanimous

in

in their approbation of the Conſtitutional principles of that Whig Miniſtry. It is not poſſible to aſſign a more honourable judgment of legal and conſtitutional rectitude.

## The Lansdown Ministry.

Lord *Shelburne* took Mr. *Pitt* for his diſciple, and Mr. *T. Townſhend* for one of his Secretaries, and they rewarded him with the gratitude peculiar to their characters. The firſt readily became an Inſtrument of the Faction, by the temptation of office, and the latter made up in prompitude, what he wanted in ability. Others filled up the meaſure. Lord *Shelburne* was betrayed by his own people. Mr. *Dundas* was reſtored to his former poſt at the Navy Office, which was a ſignal to the reſt of the *Confidents* that the old principle was *en train*.

The critical poſture of affairs, at that moment, prevented a retroſpect to the concerns of India. That ſubject was poſtponed until the negociations for peace were concluded. While they were on the tapis, the Faction ſet on foot another Negotiation, as concealed in the deſign, as it was artful in the management. This was to effect a coalition between Lord *North* and the Whigs; with a view, firſt, to turn out Lord *Shelburne*, and then to

make

make a new Miniſtry, conſiſting of Lord *North* and ſome of his old friends, a remnant of the Shelburne's, and themſelves. Mr. *Eden* was the Negotiator, who did not open his Commiſſion farther than it related to an *union againſt the* USURPER; for by that term they diſtinguiſhed Lord *Shelburne* in their ſecret conſultations.

There was no forfeiture of character, nor change of principle, in uniting to oppoſe the *Inſtruments* of a Faction, which had deſerted from one party, and were ready to betray another; which had neither private honour, nor public eſteem; which conſiſted of the Out-caſts of the Court, and the Refuſe of Oppoſition——they had not the merit of ſtanding a defeat.

When Lord *Shelburne* found, that he had been *duped*, he reſigned. But the Faction were diſappointed in the other part of their ſchemes——Lord *North* refuſed to ſeparate from his new connexion——he had made his attachments with honour, and he was determined to keep them with fidelity. Lord *Shelburne* made a ſimilar attempt, when he diſcovered his own weakneſs——but Lord *North* preſerved his character.

The Faction eſtimated Lord *North*'s honour by their own, and judging they could regain him, they manœuvred the over-throw of

of one Miniſter, on the ſpeculation of appointing another. Their diſappointment muſt have been truly great, when they found themſelves the dupes of their own cunning. They had appointed Lord *Shelburne*, and they had turned him out, without gaining any thing by the change. It is true, they had made a ſhort acquaintance with Mr. *Pitt*, but he was in a ſchool that furniſhed only a ſlight reliance on his character. Sir *James Lowther* had indeed brought him into Parliament, and that circumſtance was ſome recommendation. Lord *Shelburne* had made him Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Lord *Camden* was his friend, theſe were ſtronger recommendations; but the matter moſt in his favour was the opinion of Mr. *Dundas*, who ſaid *the lad wud do after a little mâlyorâtion*.

The Duke of *Portland*, and the Whigs, being reſtored to office, the powers of the Faction were a third time ſuſpended. It was in vain to oppoſe this arrangement——it was ſupported by the Nation, and they could not counteract it. But they placed a truſty *Spy* in it. This was Mr. *Eden*, who had permiſſion to leave them for this purpoſe—— juſt as Sir *Watkin Lewes* or Mr. *Brooke Watſon* has leave to vote againſt the Shop Tax, or the Tobacco Bill. The Public are egregiouſly tricked in theſe votes *by permiſſion*.

They

They ſhould never judge of a man from ſuch diſtinct votes. It is the tenor of a ſeſſion, and not the vote of a day, that diſtinguiſhes the true from the falſe Repreſentative. At no period was the repreſentation of the Metropolis ſo humbled as at preſent. A Knight Errant, two Jobbers, and a Country Gentleman. The French, whoſe qualification is paltry when compared with ours, would be aſhamed to ſend ſuch from the City of Paris.

It is from the abatement of character in the Houſe of Commons, that the Faction have acquired additional ſtrength. Formerly miniſters had their *Falmouths*, their *Edgecumbes*, &c. and thoſe noblemen then returned Gentlemen for their boroughs. The *Eliots*, the *Lonſdales*, &c. have not the ſame delicacy. The needy adventurers from various parts are enliſted in the train of the Faction—it is the tenure of their ſeſſional douceurs and the ſecurity of their ſeats. The Faction have thus a party of their own, together with the old party called "King's friends," but now more uſually denominated *the Queen's people*. Theſe they lend to the miniſter *durante bene placito*. They are a kind of mutes, and exerciſe the ſeparate duties of guards and executioners. While the miniſter of the day is approved by the Faction, they ſupport him;

but

but when the Faction want to get rid of him, they ſtrangle him *à la Shelburne*.

The *Contour* of the Faction is particularly worth obſerving—and we ſhall deſcribe it in the moſt ſimple terms. It is an *Imperium in Imperio*, that is, a government within a government. The Faction form a party who are predominant and paramount in every ſenſe of the words throughout all the departments of the State. They contrive by miſrepreſentations, jealouſies, reports, ſuggeſtions, and a variety of arts, which only adepts can form, and of which adepts only can properly judge, to keep conſtantly alive two parties among the Great People of the Nation. One party is in office, and one party is in oppoſition. In reſpect to Numbers, theſe two Parties are generally nearly equal. This has been the *chef d'œuvre*, that is the chief work of the Faction, to create and continue this kind of rivalſhip. And by thus holding a *ſeparate party* in their own hands, they can always throw the balance on which ſide they pleaſe.

In very few words, this is the plain and true ſtatement of the fact, and at once accounts for that fluctuation which has ſupported and ruined every miniſter. It is a fluctuation as diſhonourable to the reſponſibility of office as it is to the Crown and People. No foreign Court can put confidence

in us, for we have none in ourſelves. Our *true* miniſters are neither oſtenſible nor reſponſible. Mr. *Pitt* may affect what he pleaſes, but Lord *Hawkeſbury* can diſmiſs him whenever it ſuits his purpoſe.

We are ridiculous to ourſelves if we could but ſee our true picture; and we are contemptible in every Court in Europe, if the inanity of our Councils, and the folly of our meaſures, could convince us.

We are regarded abroad for nothing but our money. Our Merchants have credit, but our Court has none: in the abſtract, the Court is deſpiſed. During ſeveral years of the reigns of the late King of Spain and of the preſent King of Denmark, the dignity and character of the Courts of Madrid and Copenhagen, were ſupported and maintained by the Wiſdom and Juſtice of the Heir Apparent to each throne. The Heir Apparent of Great-Britain, without any Compliment, is infinitely ſuperior to either. But the Faction purſue a line of conduct, reſpecting the Court, that is entirely the reverſe of Spain and Denmark. They exclude the Heir Apparent becauſe his talents are ſplendid; and they attempted to fetter him, becauſe his principles are juſt. Inſtead of preſerving the dominions committed to their care, they have diminiſhed his inheritance of the better half. As a Nation, we have no weight in the

the ſcale of Europe. Even the Northern Courts make Peace or War, without the leaſt conſultation with us: they ſee that Great-Britain is become the inſtrument—the dupe of Pruſſia. And that the all-governing Faction at home indulge Mr. *Pitt* in his childiſh buſtle of fitting out Fleets, that they (the Faction) may continue in the monopoly of all patronage, and in the confidential ſuggeſtion of all important meaſures. Does Mr. *Pitt* flatter himſelf that he is regarded abroad—Nothing is more Falſe. The name of *Roſe* or *Steele* has as much weight at either Stockholm or Peterſburgh as the name of Pitt. And all the other Courts in Europe, as well as thoſe Courts, are well informed of the *tenure* by which Mr. *Pitt* holds his office.

## THE DUKE OF PORTLAND'S ADMINISTRATION.

During the Adminiſtration of the Duke of *Portland*, the powers of the Faction were entirely ſuſpended. This adminiſtration was founded in the ſoundeſt wiſdom and policy; not diſſimilar to that brilliant adminiſtration of the late reign, which it was the firſt buſineſs of the preſent to annihilate. The adminiſtration of 1757 was formed upon the broad baſis of popular opinion and great connexi-

ons. The adminiſtration of 1783, was formed upon a plan of union more extenſive. The unrivalled abilities of Mr. *Fox*; the numerous friends of Lord *North*; the unſullied integrity of the Whigs. From ſuch perſons, and ſuch qualifications, there was every thing to hope for the benefit of the Public. The Nation had not ſeen, during the preſent reign, an adminiſtration formed on a baſis that had ſo fine an appearance of ſymmetry and permanency: embracing the principles of every public intereſt, and uniting the friendſhips of every honourable connexion; poſſeſſing the eſteem of the Nation, and the confidence of Parliament. A combination where virtue, talents, and every thing that is honourable among men, could give reputation to dignity, activity to experience, and wiſdom to ardour. Conſcious of their own rectitude, they reſorted to no arts to gain the applauſe of the ignorant, the temporary aid of the fickle, or the intereſted ſupport of the mercenary. Content with the Conſtitutional ſupport of Parliament, their enemies had undiſturbed poſſeſſion of all the channels and batteries of defamation; which they kept in full practice from the firſt day the Whigs appeared at St. James's. But the Parliament of that day was not duped by this artifice; that Parliament had witneſſed their conduct, and there-

fore

fore was beſt qualified to judge of their merits; they were honoured by that Parliament with the fulleſt and ſtrongeſt aſſurances of confidence and approbation. If ſuch an adminiſtration could be removed, it muſt be by the exertion of ſome power unknown to the Conſtitution; for it will hardly be ſaid, that his Majeſty would, of his own mere motion, exerciſe his prerogative in a manner ſo manifeſtly injurious to the intereſts and happineſs of his people.

The firſt object of this adminiſtration, as may naturally be ſuppoſed, was the public Service. But unfortunately for both the King and the Nation, this Service long had been, and ſtill continued to be, contrary to the Views of the Faction.

Mr. *Fox* with his uſual penetration, with an eye ſurveying all parts of the Britiſh Empire, and a mind comprehending equally the diſtant, with the domeſtic ſtate of its intereſts; not limiting his judgment to a part, when he ought to pervade the whole; nor frigidly applying the narrow rules of mechaniſm to a caſe, that demanded the large ſcale of his wiſdom; but boldly and warmly pointing the evils, and propoſing the remedies of the abuſes, which ſeparated, and by their correction muſt have united, the deareſt and now moſt eſſential intereſts of the Britiſh Empire.

Empire. The reader will perceive, that the alluſion is to Mr. *Fox*'s India Bill, The deſign was worthy of him——it was magnificent and fœderal. It encircled the Britiſh intereſts of Aſia and Europe in a glory, that will for ever adorn the head of its author.

We have mentioned the meeting at Mr. *Jenkinſon*'s; the reader will be pleaſed to take that circumſtance again into his recollection. The plan of future meaſures laid down at that meeting, was, that America being irrecoverable, the buſineſs of the office of *third* Secretary of State ſhould be changed from America to Aſia; the American Secretary to be turned out; another Secretary to be appointed with a new eſtabliſhment. And it was farther ſettled, that the new Secretary ſhould be Mr. *Henry Dundas*.

When the Faction determine upon a meaſure, they never abandon it; but purſue their object through every channel, private and public, criminal and innocent, corrupt and virtuous; they heſitate at nothing, being in no perſonal danger; becauſe, holding no reſponſible ſituations, they are equally indifferent to the means, by which their deſigns are accompliſhed; as they are to the conſequences, whether they are beneficial or injurious to the Public. Hence the frequency of theſe clandeſtine meetings.

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The Faction have for ſeveral years caſt their eyes upon India. They envy every great intereſt they behold. Like true mercenaries their greateſt pleaſure is plunder. They envied the riſing greatneſs of America, and when they found they could no longer rob her, they reſolved to ſeparate her from the Britiſh Crown. Their views on India are perfectly the ſame; and ſo long as the patronage laſts, or Mr. *Dundas* can hold a firſt ſituation in the Department, we ſhall every year be amuſed with pompous accounts of the flouriſhing ſtate of India; eſtimates of revenue which have no foundation in truth; or while expences can be concealed which are not fit to bear the light, in order to dupe the Nation into an acquieſcence with the preſent Syſtem, that the Faction may continue in full poſſeſſion of the monopoly.

The firſt Symptom of the Scheme appeared in the circumſtance of ſending Sir *John Lindſaye* to the Country Powers of Aſia, to inform them there was a power at home greater than the Company. Until that time, the Nabobs had conſidered the Company as the higheſt power, but the true purpoſe of that extraordinary Miſſion was to undeceive the Country Princes; to direct their attention to the Crown, not to the Company, of Great Britain. This ſecret being diſcloſed, the

power

power of the Company began to diminiſh, and that of the Crown to be ſet up. From this period, bills have been brought into Parliament almoſt every ſeſſion, Committees have been appointed, and a variety of meaſures have been taken, until at length all the authority of the Company is wreſted out of their hands.

Mr. *Fox*'s India bill placed this authority and patronage out of the reach of the Faction; in that ſituation, where, upon every principle of Juſtice, as well as according to the letter and ſpirit of the Conſtitution, they ought to be placed, *in truſt for the Company*, the appointment in Parliament, and the reſponſibility in the miniſtry.

This was a violent blow to the Faction. Mr. *Burke*'s bill of reform had already deſtroyed ſo much of their plan, as related to the *continuation* of a third Secretary of State, but this loſs they were not without hopes of recovering, by one of their diſtinctions between *official* and *efficient*, or as they have done ſince, by *a board of Controul*. But Mr. *Fox*'s bill went to the full and abſolute annihilation of their *whole* plan. They were ſtruck with amazement, alarm and terror, when they beheld it; for the treatment they received from Mr. *Fox* was ſo different from that they had experienced from Lord *North*, that

that they were totally ignorant of the contents of Mr. *Fox*'s bill, until they ſaw it in Parliament. Lord *North*'s eaſy nature, and affability of temper, frequently admitted ſome of them to ſituations of information; which cauſed the miſcarriage of many of his beſt meaſures; particularly his conciliatory bills with America, which had they been ſent at the time, and in the form he firſt propoſed, there is the beſt authority for ſaying, they would have proved ſucceſsful; but they were ſo delayed, mutilated, and altered, in different Counſels, that ſcarcely one original feature was ſuffered to remain.

In the Duke of *Portland*'s adminiſtration, the Faction were wholly removed from all communication. They were kept in ignorance of all public meaſures. They had no confidents ſtationed in the offices to give them information. Their ſpies were excluded every where. Even Mr. *Eden*, although the Friend of Lord *Carliſle*, was not admitted to the Secrets of the Cabinet. They knew nothing of any bills, until they came openly before Parliament. Hence aroſe the oppoſition to Mr. *Fox*'s India Bill in the Houſe of Lords. They could not mutilate and ſtrangle it, as they had done the plans of Lord *North*; or as Lord *Chatham* ſtyled it "firſt by

" treachery, next by official influence, and " laſtly in Council." They were obliged to do it publicly in the Houſe of Lords: and they were, which ſhewed both their diſtreſs and their depravity, obliged to put it upon the King——Of all the libels of the preſent reign, is there any thing that equals this in atrocity or malignity? His majeſty's character never ſuffered from thoſe, whom he has been taught to believe were his enemies; but his reputation has ſuffered, and will ſuffer throughout all the ages of poſterity, from the manœuvres and influence of thoſe, whom he has been taught to believe were his friends. Mr. *Fox*'s bill had been drawn without their participation. They could not ſtomach it. Like Macbeth's wife they reſolved " to catch the " neareſt way." It was neceſſity that compelled them to act more publicly in this affair, than they had done in any former. Upon this occaſion, the world ſaw, in open day light, the effects of the Secret Influence. If Mr. *Fox* had conſulted them in the formation of his bill, and had provided a firſt ſituation for Mr. *Dundas*, his bill would have paſſed without any oppoſition*. But ſo far was he from offering

* The diſmiſſion of Mr. Dundas was ſent from Mr. Fox's office. The Faction were exceedingly offended at this circumſtance; which they called a perſonality in Mr. Fox, and which they

offering any accommodation of this kind, or making any ſacrifice of his meaſures by compounding for the admiſſion of the Faction, that he preferred a Conſtitutional authority in office, and a dignified deportment in Parliament, to the acceptance of a ſupport which he might have had, but which he refuſed, of thoſe men, whoſe principles were incompatible with juſtice, inimical to liberty, privately treacherous, and publicly baſe; the enemies of Great Britain at home, and the friends of her enemies abroad.

In a Court that had been originally formed upon a ſyſtem of entire ſeparation from the official ſervants of the public*, it is not to be

they ſaid belonged to Lord North's department, but that Lord North had refuſed to ſend it.——At that time, they were attempting to open a negociation with his Lordſhip; but he indignantly rejected all overtures from a Quarter, which, a long experience had convinced him, was deſtitute of every honourable principle in either a public, or a private capacity.

The diſmiſſion of Mr. Stuart Mackenzie in 1765, and of Mr. Henry Dundas in 1783, were perfectly ſimilar in their conſequences, as well as their cauſes.——The miniſters of both periods were ſacrificed on the altar of Secret Influence, to atone for thoſe marks of Independence and Public Spirit, which they had thus given. In the *nominal* adminiſtration of Lord Chatham, Mr. Mackenzie was reſtored; and in the *nominal* adminiſtration of his ſon Mr. Dundas was not only reſtored to his former office, but another was created for him of great patronage and emolument, with permiſſion to hold both, and ſome valuable reverſions.

* It is an anecdote of the early eſtabliſhment of this ſyſtem, that the late Lord Chatham reſigned, becauſe, as he ſaid himſelf, "he would not be reſponſable for meaſures he was "not allowed to Guide." See his letter on his reſignation, in Nov. 1761.

ſuppoſed, that a Whig miniſtry, who claimed the exerciſe of the conſtitutional authority of their ſituations, could be agreeable; and therefore it cannot be doubted, that the firſt opportunity was taken to get rid of ſuch unpleaſant viſitors. This opportunity, or rather pretence, occurred by Mr. *Fox*'s India Bill; but if that circumſtance had not happened, ſome other might, and it is eaſy to diſcover, that the Faction were reſolved to ſeize the firſt. The Whigs had been appointed in an hour of extreme diſtreſs.——The Court at that time had no alternative ——there was not another Mr. *Yorke* to execute*.——They had been driven to every expedient

* Upon what principle Lord Hardwicke can give his countenance to an adminiſtration, that is indebted for its continuation in office, to no other merit but its ſuperior ſubſerviency to that very ſyſtem, which occaſioned the death of his father, muſt be explained by his lordſhips own notions of filial piety, and reſpect for the memory of a parent; who, once in his life at leaſt, was ſuppoſed to have been ſincerely, as his family ought always to have been gratefully, attached to the Whigs. Or, how Lord *Dover* can ſupport the adminiſtration of *Pitt* and *Pratt*, who ſo often called him *the moſt adulatory of Hague miniſters?* The convenient tergiverſation of men, who abandon the principles, and more eſpecially the friendſhips of thoſe great and generous perſons, who called their anceſtors from obſcurity, and raiſed them to the higheſt honours in the State, deſerves but little conſideration. Ingratitude is no new vice; but to join the enemies of their benefactors, the murderers of a father and a brother, we may hope is the extent of human depravity. The junior *Ryder* ſeems to be purſuing the ſame line. His Grandfather was likewiſe a Country Attorney, and was

expedient and been defeated——to every hold and been ouſted——to every quarter for relief and been refuſed——Theſe were circumſtances which the Faction could not forget. And the keen ſenſibility of them, was not a little aggravated, by the ſentence of proſcription, under which they laboured during the Whig adminiſtration. They therefore eagerly ſeized the pretence, which an artful miſrepreſentation of Mr. *Fox*'s India Bill furniſhed, of deceiving the nation, and ſurpriſing the King; in order thereby to recover the poſſeſſion, they had loſt. The tranſactions of that period are well known; but one or two obſervations may not be improper. When Parliament aſcribed the Secret Influence to the private audience of Lord *Temple*, they miſtook the Fact. The Secret Influence commenced before the audience took place. The audience was the conſequence, not the origin of the Reſolution to diſmiſs the miniſtry. Lord *Temple* was the Inſtrument. No one man of the Faction could come forward, and write

was alſo raiſed to the peerage by the Whigs. It has been the misfortune of the Whigs to have been often deceived in the objects of their bounties. The paſſions of the mind are not leſs hereditary than the diſeaſes of the body. Liberality is not leſs a ſpecies of Generation, than the Scrophula. The modern Whigs are not leſs liberal than their fathers. Hence the deceptions of Lord *Auckland*, Lord *Sydney*, &c. &c. Such men wriggle themſelves into Confidence, to make a market of their treachery.

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the letters of diſmiſſion. They therefore made Lord *Temple* Secretary of State, for that ſingle purpoſe.

This event was not the reſult of a crude and haſty reſolution, but of a plan that had been formed after much deliberation, and ſeveral negociations with individuals. The Faction profited by their precipitation in turning out Lord *Shelburne*. On the preſent occaſion they reſolved to ſettle the ſucceſſion, before they proceeded to the diſmiſſion. The Small party formerly denominated the *Bedford* party, from the friendſhip of the late Duke——a remnant of the *Shelburne*'s, who preferred thee moluments of office to the conſiſtency of Character——The *Grenvilles*, *Pitts*, and *Pratts*, who united ſcarcely exceeded half a dozen ——and a few individuals who were too inſignificant to be diſtinguiſhed by any name. This motley group were brought together by the Faction; they forgave in an inſtant all former differences, and forgot all former principles. They coaleſced. Heads and Tales. Patriots and Courtiers. Open enemies and treacherous friends——As *Bubb Dodington* ſays, "*it was all for quarter day.*" As ſoon as this mercenary corps, of old men and Boys had been atteſted, the Whigs were diſmiſſed.

GENERAL

## General Observations.

SUCH has been the tenure of office from the year 1761 to the preſent moment. Eleven ſets of Miniſters have been appointed and diſmiſſed. And, except the adminiſtrations of Lord *Rockingham* and that of the Duke of *Portland*, they have all been in different degrees of ſervility, the temporary inſtruments of the Faction.

This extraordinary and principal feature in the Hiſtory of the preſent age, is a ſubject that deſerves the moſt ſerious contemplation. At the firſt glance on the fact, we muſt perceive that there is interwoven in this Syſtem, a principle of ſuch exceſſive turpitude and malevolence, as muſt, at all times, be abhorrent to a generous and candid mind. It is no leſs than a baſe ſuſpicion of the rectitude of every man of character, rank, and property, in the kingdom——that, excepting a certain deſcription of perſons, of mean origin, and very limited education, whoſe minds are ſuited by nature, and whoſe manners are formed by habit, to the moſt deſpicable ranks of ſubordination, whoſe ſervile offices have accuſtomed and fitted them to all the arts of low cunning, ſtudied treachery, and conſummate perfidy,——all other perſons are ſuppoſed to be unworthy

unworthy and undeſerving of the royal confidence. In the general proſcription of confidence, which ſuch a ſyſtem maintains, the Whigs have been diſtinguiſhed by a more marked excluſion and more avowed diſapprobation, than any other ſet of men. This circumſtance is doubtleſs extraordinary, and might excite ſurpriſe, if every other friend of the Hanover ſucceſſion, had not met with a ſimilar fate. The ſtigma, however, is not limited to thoſe perſons, whom gratitude might have ſecured from the arts of obloquy. It has been, in the various changes which have been made, extended to all deſcriptions of men, as well as party. The Faction alone have preſerved their ſituations and their influence.

The inference, which it was intended the Public ſhould collect from the Syſtem, and from the many changes of Miniſters, was ſuch, as neither the depravity of modern times, nor the hiſtory of the ancient, could furniſh any example. The opinion ſo anxiouſly intended to be eſtabliſhed is without parallel.——It is, that all public virtue is an impoſture, and all pretence to it is ridiculous; that the King is the *only* perſon in whom the Nation ought to confide; that in his breaſt *only* true virtue and patriotiſm are lodged; that all other perſons, from the days of Algernon Sydney

Sydney to the preſent time, have been more or leſs baſe, as they had opportunity for the exerciſe of their ſeveral vices. And, therefore, the King's confidence, given to any man of whatſoever rank, like the King's ſtamp upon any metal, however baſe, is ſufficient to paſs current,——the official Miniſters being no more than the firſt clerks in their ſeveral departments. The Roman Emperors did not require a more abſolute ſubmiſſion.

Every one muſt perceive, that this is a ſyſtem, no matter by whom commenced, nor by whom adopted, that is directly contrary to the firſt great principle of the Britiſh conſtitution; which, to prevent the aſſumption of arbitrary power, makes every Miniſter anſwerable for the advice he gives to his Sovereign, and the King entirely unable to direct, or execute, any meaſure, without ſome reſponſible adviſer.

If all the evils and misfortunes of the reign, are to be aſcribed to the influence of this Faction, then the *Continuation* of thoſe evils, and of that influence, are to be aſcribed to Mr. *Pitt*——to his temerity in becoming the *Inſtrument* of this Faction, at a time when no other perſon could be prevailed upon——after every man of character and honour, of weight and importance, in the eye of the public, or of the Court, had been repeatedly ſolicited, and had repeatedly refuſed——circum-

ſtances which were ſufficient to have deterred any man of prudence and ſagacity, who regarded his own reputation, or the ſituation of his country.———In this moment equally critical and intereſting, when the manœuvres of the Faction had been conquered, and Miniſters were once more reſtored to the conſtitutional authority of their ſituations; when the Court had felt (if it was capable of ſuch feeling) the happineſs of emancipation; and when a Parliament, which had not been diſſolved by the caprice of a day, nòr elected to uphold the fictitious credit of a Miniſter, voluntary gave their ſupport, and their confidence, to meaſures, and to men, of whoſe rectitude they were fully convinced.———In this moment, above all others the moſt important, when the eſtabliſhment of the King's honour and the ſecurity of the public welfare, were on the point of being accompliſhed——Mr. *Pitt* finds his vanity flattered with a proſpect of the Treaſury.—He determines to take a blind leap; to ſacrifice in an inſtant what had been the labour of years to attain; and to ſhew that he was reſolved to exceed all former Miniſters in verſatility, he began his career with a deſertion of every principle he had avowed, and of every friend he had experienced. Reputation and Country were nothing to him;

him; he placed no eſtimation on the firſt, and of the laſt he had no knowledge.

When the Faction had tried every body, they came to Mr. *Pitt*.

> I fancy, but he hates a joke,
> He felt as Nell did when ſhe woke
> In Lady Loverule's bed*.

Or, as Launcelot Gobbo, with his conſcience on one ſide, and the fiend on the other†. He left his conſcience, if he had any, and followed the fiend. He compounded with the Faction. They obtained the ſituation of influence, and they lent him the appearance of office.

From being the *Eleve* of Lord *Shelburne*, he ſuddenly became the Diſciple of Mr. *Jenkinſon*. His youth made it impoſſible to truſt him alone. He was placed between Lord *Gower* and Lord *Camden*; the firſt the moſt violent of the *Bedfords*, who had quarrelled with Lord *North*, becauſe he was not violent enough; and the latter, who had ſupported the higheſt prerogative doctrines of the Stuarts‡. The peerage could not furniſh two perſons, better qualified for the poſts of Sub-governor, and Sub-preceptor to this juvenile Miniſter.

This burleſque of oſtenſibility, was ſoon followed by placing Mr. *Jenkinſon* OPENLY at

* Sir Charles Hanbury Williams.
† Shakeſpeare. Merchant of Venice.
‡ The diſpenſing power, &c.

the head of the Trade and Commerce of this Commercial Kingdom. The ſuperiority of the Faction has not been diſtinguiſhed, from the time that Lord *Bute* was publicly Prime Miniſter to the preſent hour, by a ſtronger circumſtance of indiſputable power. Unleſs we add that other, of making Lord *Bute*'s *commis* a peer; which, indeed, completed the triumph of the Faction.

Richlieu expelled Sully by a ſimilar Faction; and Mary of Medicis, upon the retirement of Richlieu, took the Faction under her protection. She put herſelf at the head of it; and though young Guiſe flattered himſelf with poſſeſſing the confidence of the Court; becauſe he was entruſted with the plan of the Regency; yet, as ſoon as he had anſwered their purpoſe, they took him off. It was, indeed, a reward which his perfidy merited from his country, but not from the hands he received it.

To this Faction may juſtly be imputed the origin of thoſe calamities, with which we have been afflicted ſince the death of the late king ——a government without confidence, meaſures without wiſdom, miniſters without virtue, Parliaments without honour, and laws without juſtice. Sometimes the people have amuſed themſelves with the hope, that a diſſolution of Parliament would remedy the evils

of

of which they have complained. But what ſignifies the removal of one corrupt aſſembly, if another as bad is ſubſtituted? If ſeats in Parliament can be contracted for, by the *Purveyor* of the Treaſury, like beef and pork for the Victualling Office, is it not the view in making ſuch contracts to rivet ſome old, or to impoſe ſome new oppreſſion? If ſuch diſſolutions were intended to be fair appeals to the Judgments of the people, would they be made on a ſudden? at periods entirely uncertain? and wholly unexpected? The Nation is taken by ſurpriſe on theſe occaſions——The Inſtruments of corruption are prepared; and before the Oppoſers of the Syſtem have opportunity to conſult their friends, or the Electors have time to conſider of proper Candidates, the day of Election is arrived.

If the appointment of ſuch Miniſters, and the ſecrecy of ſuch Diſſolutions, are not abuſes of the Prerogative, it will be difficult to ſhew what are abuſes.

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FROM theſe general Obſervations, well founded, and naturally ariſing fromthe obvious complexion of meaſures, of men, and of events; we will proceed to the STATEMENT of ſome *particulars*; not as they may regard Mr. Pitt perſonally, for if ſuch

ſuch ſtatement went to that point only, it would be of very little importance indeed; but as it may effect our *public Character*, as a Nation; which, at the beginning of a new Parliament, and probably at the commencement of a new æra in the politics of Europe, well deſerves the conſideration of every man, whether in a private or a public ſituation; who holds his Country's honour and happineſs, in a degree connected with his own; and is of opinion, that the former cannot be diminiſhed without affecting the latter; and therefore it may lie in his memory, as a beacon which gives notice to the mariner, to contribute his aid to avoid impending danger.

## FINANCE.

The Paraſites of Mr. *Pitt*, and it is but Juſtice to ſay, that no Chancellor of the Exchequer ever had ſo many, aſcribe infinite merit to him in this department. Not a day paſſes without a ſcore of panegyrics on his wonderful operations in Finance. Praiſe in the groſs is eaſily compoſed. The trowel, upon theſe occaſions, is a more uſeful inſtrument than the pen. The wonder is not that there ſhould be men ſilly enough to write ſuch nonſenſe, but that there ſhould be any body weak enough to believe it.

Amongſt

Amongſt the errors of our countrymen, a generous credulity is one of the greateſt. Inſtead of a jealous ſuſpicion, at the very time when there never was more need of it, we ſubſtitute both an implicit and an unlimited confidence——upon no other foundation, than the poſitive aſſertions of hired anonymous writers; and the idle reports of ignorant and intereſted perſons. Thus, by an ill-timed, and miſ-placed, liberality, a ſort of licence, or leave, has been given to a young man, who, by a *convenient* permiſſion allowed him by the Court, in the indulgence of his vanity, imagines that he has a right to impoſe upon the people whatever burdens he pleaſes.

If we did not ſuffer ourſelves to be deluded, without examining the deluſion, this impoſition could not laſt a week. And why it has laſted ſo many years, I believe no diſintereſted perſon can give a good reaſon; except, that our nation does not deſire emancipation, that all public ſpirit is ſo entirely broken down, the fences of private property, as well as of public liberty, are removeable at the pleaſure of the Crown, or rather of its ſecret adviſers.

There is however a hope, and let us preſume it is well founded, that we are not yet ſo deeply ſunk into this ſtate of degeneracy. The Genoeſe threw off the tyranny of the

the Auſtrians, and the Americans off the Britons. The Dutch emancipated themſelves from the tyranny of the Spaniards, and even the French refuſed to pay taxes when unjuſtly and unequally impoſed*. There is a period at which generoſity and credulity muſt ceaſe. And this period is commonly the period of Revolution. Whether our oppreſſors, if encreaſed, may have a ſimilar effect upon us, ought to be a conſideration for them who have much to loſe. It is certainly of no other moment to the miniſtry, than the loſs of their places. A change in the principles of Government, is not leſs a Revolution, than a change of the perſon, or family, who is entruſted with the executive part. The French have made ſuch a change; and whether it will be permanent or not, it has at leaſt impreſſed the people

* The Taille was a heavy tax in France on the land, from which the property of the nobility and clergy were exempt. The French long complained of this partiality. The preſent King was convinced of the truth of their complaints. He did not order his myrmidons of law, to add puniſhment to oppreſſion; but the people feared that his humanity might be over ruled, and to prevent the cruel effects of ſuch influence, they deſtroyed the Baſtile. The old Taille is no more. The new tax is general, and equal. There are no exemptions. Even the King's lands pay it.

In England the principle of the old Taille is maintained. ——Is Blenheim, or Stowe, &c. &c. aſſeſſed to the Houſe Tax, proportionably with the Houſe of a Citizen in Cheapſide or Cornhill? Or do the eſtates of Lord Lonſdale, Lord Bagot, &c. &c. pay a Land Tax, that a fourth part of the ſame rental pays in the Metropolis?

with

with a juſt ſenſe of their own Conſequence. They begin to ſee, and to feel their own rights; and being poſſeſſed of the ſame faculties as other men, why ſhould they not have the ſame ſpirit to defend them? It is an illiberal ſuggeſtion that ſuppoſes the Contrary. We called the Americans cowards, did our army find them ſuch? And can it be imagined, that Britain is leſs valiant than her ſons—leſs tenacious of her rights, or leſs ſuſceptible of oppreſſion?—God forbid that period ſhould ever arrive. Better ten thouſand Miniſters were laid in the duſt, than Britain one moment loſe her virtue.

It is the boaſt of the inhabitants of theſe kingdoms, that our Laws and Conſtitution are the envy and admiration of every nation in Europe. If this be ſtrictly true, the circumſtance ſhould awaken, and keep alive, our right and power to maintain the diſtinction. But I am afraid that our eaſy yielding to the influence of a name, though "any other name would ſmell as ſweet," has reduced us much lower in the eyes of thoſe European nations, in which it would have been our honour, and ought to have been our duty to ſtand at leaſt on a level, if not a ſuperior ground, than our countrymen would like to hear. The numerous burthens impoſed by Mr. *Pitt*, have aſtoniſhed every civilized na-

tion. The audacity of the Miniſter, and the timidity of the people, excite a ſpecies of ſurprize, that conſiſts of an equal mixture of indignation and contempt. And of all the taxes which he has laid, there are none which create the riſible faculties ſo ſtrongly, as the Stamps on Hats and Gloves. They are *perſonal badges of ſlavery*. At Paris, at Lyons, at Turin, at Berlin, at Amſterdam, &c. they ſay an Engliſhman only wants Stamps upon his Shoes, and then he will be ſtamped from head to foot. In ſuch utter abhorrence do they hold this mode of taxation; a mode which they ſay is the moſt diſgraceful in the ſcale of human degradation. Although theſe people are inured to ſlavery, are born to it, yet they experience no ſuch inſults.

Mr. *Pitt*'s flatterers are conſtantly informing us of the weekly receipts of the revenue; and whenever an extraordinary week of receipt occurs, they never fail to blazon it to the public, in terms of the higheſt adulation to Mr. *Pitt*. This little trick is not without its effect. Never did Miniſter owe ſo much to the liberty of the preſs as Mr. *Pitt*. He has made a ſcience of the art of puffing——he uſes it upon all occaſions, and he turns it into all ſhapes. Sometimes his panegyriſts contraſt the receipts of the revenue, with thoſe of the ſame months, or quarter, in the time of

ſome

ſome former Miniſter, in order to ſhew the great encreaſe under Mr. *Pitt*. This manœuvre has its uſe alſo. And it impoſes upon all thoſe who do not recollect the number of taxes which Mr. *Pitt* has ADDED. But let us take a ſuperficial view of theſe ADDITIONS; and we ſhall find that a very few facts will place Mr. *Pitt*'s conduct in a different light. Indeed they are ſo various and complicated, that it will not be an eaſy matter to aſcertain them all. So many new taxes have been impoſed, ſo many old ones have been altered, and ſo many old and new acts of Parliament have been made, modified, rectified, and amended, that it is impoſſible to enumerate every regulation, alteration, and novelty that has been introduced, ſince Mr. *Pitt* came into office. However, with reſpect to his Taxes, the following is a recapitulation of the principal ones.

TAXES *impoſed by Mr.* PITT.

| | £. |
|---|---|
| A new Window Tax, conſiderably more than double the former; in many places one third more, and in moſt places one fourth. The old Window Tax in the year 1782 produced 454,960l. 10s. 1d. therefore this new Tax cannot be over-rated in being put at only one Million per annum. | 1,000,000 |

| | £. |
|---|---|
| Candles, one halfpenny per pound, *additional*; eſtimated by the Miniſter to produce annually | 100,000 |
| Tax on Hats, and licence for ſelling them; eſtimated by the Miniſter to produce annually | 150,000 |
| Saddle Horſes 10s. each; running Horſes two Guineas each; eſtimated by ditto, - - | 100,000 |
| Hackney Coaches 5s. per Week, | 12,000 |
| Licences for retailing Beer, Ale, and other exciſeable liquors, *additional*; and to makers and dealers in certain exciſeable Commodities, from ten Shillings to fifty Pounds, eſtimated by ditto, | 110,000 |
| Poſtage of Letters, *additional*, *Ditto*, | 100,000 |
| Regulation of franking Letters, *Ditto*, - - | 20,000 |
| Britiſh Linens and Cottons, from three farthings to one Shilling *per yard*, and Licence for bleaching and dying, *Ditto*, | 120,000 |
| Ribbands from 1d. for 12 yards to 1d. per yard; and Gauzes from 2d. to 4d. per yard, *Ditto*, | 120,000 |
| Paper from 1d. to 10s. per Ream, *Ditto*, - - | 18,000 |
| Plate. Silver, 6d. per ounce; Gold 8s. per ounce, *Ditto*, - | 25,000 |

Bricks,

| | £. |
|---|---|
| Bricks, 2s. 6d. per 1000; and Tiles from 3s. to 30s. per 1000. The Miniſter eſtimated the produce of this Tax to be 50,000l. per annum. But it has more than doubled that Sum: by the public Accounts laid before the Houſe of Commons laſt year it appears that this Tax produced from the 5th of April 1788 to the 5th of April 1789—95,920l. and 1500l. in Scotland, in all | 97,420 |
| Certificates for killing Game. The Miniſter eſtimated the produce of this Tax at 10,000l. But it has every year more than trebled that Sum. By the public accounts laid before Parliament laſt year, it appears that from the 5th of January 1788 to the 5th of January 1789, this Tax produced - - | 55,960 |
| Lead exported, one Guinea per Ton. The Miniſter eſtimated this Tax to produce 15,000l. annually. | |
| Raw and thrown Silk imported, 3s. and 2s. per pound. Of this Tax the Miniſter gave no eſtimation of its produce. But by | |

the

| | £. |
|---|---|
| the accounts of the Cuſtoms laid before Parliament it appears that theſe two Taxes (for they are put together in the ſame line) produced, from the 5th of January 1786 to the 5th of January 1787, - - | 141,543 |
| Tax on Gloves; 1d. per pair from 4d. to 10d.—2d. from 10d. to 1s. 4d.—3d. all above 1s. 4d. The Miniſter calculated this Tax to produce annually | 50,000 |
| Additional Tax on male Servants, viz. 1, at 1l. 5s.—2 to 4, 1l. 10s. each.—5 to 7, 1l. 15s. each.—8 to 10, 2l. each.—11 and all above 3l. each. The Miniſter eſtimated theſe additions to produce (excluſive of the former Tax) annually - - | 35,000 |
| Tax on Female Servants, viz. 1, 2s. 6d.—2, 5s. each—3, 10s. each: eſtimated by the Miniſter to produce annually - | 140,000 |
| Poſt Horſes; all Horſes travelling for hire, Halfpenny per Mile, eſtimated at - - - | 50,000 |
| Salt (a Regulation) - - | 12,000 |
| Pawn-broker's Licences, annual, viz. 10l. in London; 5l. in the Country, - - - | 15,000 |

| | £. |
|---|---|
| Every Attorney in London to pay 5l. annually. Eſtimated by the Miniſter to produce 15,000l. annuallly. | |
| Every Attorney in the Country to pay 3l. annually. | |
| But by the laſt year's public Accounts this Tax produced for one year - - | 25,472 |
| For every Warrant of Action 2s. 6d. eſtimated by the Miniſter at | 5,000 |
| Tax on Perfumery, *Ditto,* | 30,000 |
| Battins (Timber) *Ditto,* | 30,000 |
| Exciſe on Spirits, *(additional) Ditto,* | 70,000 |
| Encreaſe of the Tobacco Duty, admitted laſt year by the Miniſter, to amount to - - - | 100,000 |
| Additional, on Newſpapers, half-penny, - - - | 30,000 |
| ——-——- on Advertiſements, Sixpénce, - - - | 10,000 |
| ——-——- on Wills, - | 18,000 |
| ——-——- on Legacies, - | 5,000 |
| ——-——- on Cards, - - | 9,000 |
| ——-——- on Horſes and Carriages, | 40,000 |

When the Miniſter propoſed the following Taxes, he gave no particular eſtimate of their expected annual produce, viz. Annual Licences on Coach-makers 1l. For

every

£.

every new four-wheel Carriage to be paid by the Maker 1l. and for every new two wheel Carriage, to be paid by the Maker 10s. For every four-wheel Carriage now kept, to be paid by the Owner annually 7l. and for every two-wheel Carriage now kept, to be paid by the Owner annually 3l. 10s.

The Cuſtoms have been augmented, *by regulation*.

Hawkers and Pedlars, *Ditto*.

Tax on all Bachelors for each male Servant they keep (in addition to the other Tax on male Servants) 1l. 5s.

On all Bachelors keeping one female Servant, 2s. 6d.—Two, 5s.—Three or more 10s. each, (in addition to the other Tax on female Servants.)

Three-pence each on the Births, Marriages, and Deaths, of all Diſſenters, when Regiſtered.—Produced laſt year 4211l. 6s. 0d.

Licences on Paper-ſtainers, Tanners, Dreſſers in Oil, Curriers, Vellum-makers, Callico Printers, and Wire-drawers.

We

| | £. |
|---|---|
| We muſt take all theſe Taxes at a gueſs——ſince the Accounts laid before Parliament do not enable us to aſcertain the particular produce of each. But it may with ſafety be averred that the whole exceeds - - - - - | 70,000 |
| The Shop Tax was eſtimated to produce 120,000l. per annum. It was collected three years. | |
| The Fuſtian Tax was eſtimated to produce 40,000l. per annum. It was collected one year. | |
| There has been a Lottery *every year*, the premium upon which has been conſiderable; that of the laſt year the Miniſter ſtated to be 290,937l. | |
| Theſe three Articles we muſt alſo take at a gueſs. But the Miniſter cannot think himſelf overrated, if he is ſuppoſed to have received from them 900,000, which being divided by *ſeven* (the number of years he has been firſt Commiſſioner) amounts to 128,571l. 8s. 6d. per annum. | |

Here then is a Sum, great part of which is taken from Mr. *Pitt*'s own eſtimation, conſiderably *exceeding Three Millions per annum*,

paid by the Public ſince he has been in office, over and above what was paid in Lord *North*'s time. This is a plain matter of Fact. It is within every man's Comprehenſion. It wants neither argument nor illuſtration. If a Miniſter lays *new* Taxes to the amount of *Three Millions* per annum, and continues *all* the former Taxes, the revenue ought to be *encreaſed Three Millions*. There is no ingenuity in this inference. But it is aſtoniſhing, how patiently the people bear this *additional burden*. Thoſe who live in the Metropolis, are not witneſſes to the private diſtreſs of reſpectable individuals in the Country; who find it difficult to gain a ſubſiſtence, and diſcharge the ſeveral old and new demands, made by the collectors of revenue. Let the Repreſentative of any County declare upon his honour, if he is not wearied with ſolicitations, from families of no mean conſideration, to get their ſons, and nephews, humble places in the Exciſe, Cuſtoms, Stamps, or any department of revenue: becauſe they find it impoſſible to ſupport them. One half of the Sums, which are annually laviſhed upon *Roſe* and *Steele**, would make fifty of theſe families happy. It is within the Remembrance of many Gentlemen in the

* Theſe men are ſaid to divide between them, in places, &c. between twenty and thirty thouſand pounds per annum. They are Mr. Pitt's Secretaries!

Houſe

Houſe of Commons, when the Yeomanry of England were numerous and reſpectable. This moſt uſeful claſs of men are now almoſt annihilated; by repeated taxes and other oppreſſions. Their incomes bearing no proportion of encreaſe with theſe out-goings, many have ſold their eſtates, and ſheltered their houſeleſs heads in the receſſes of obſcurity; many are become Court retainers, and the remainder are diſperſed in the different ſtations of dependency. Here and there you ſee one of theſe left, with every other window in his manſion ſtopped up.

The oppeſſion of theſe numerous taxes is wantonly encreaſed by the practice of unremitted ſeverity in the collection. Immediately on any tax becoming due, not a moment is loſt in exacting the payment; and likewiſe in demanding the money from the ſeveral Collectors; thereby drawing the circulating caſh from all parts of the Kingdom to a focus in the Capital. This practice may anſwer ſome purpoſe of the Miniſter, or of the Bank, but it is injurious to the country. Formerly this caſh, lying a few months in the hands of the Collectors, was of great ſervice to the traders and farmers in every neighbourhood; who were often accommodated with ſmall ſums by the Collectors at Harveſt and Fair times; or ſometimes the payment of the taxes was poſtponed a few

weeks. Government never loſt a guinea by theſe acts of beneficence and accommodation. But in thoſe days the arts of puffing were not ſo well known. No Miniſter, before Mr. *Pitt*, ever thought of bolſtering up his fame by making a weekly boaſt of the weekly receipts of the revenue. It is the petite guerre of a free booter.

Lord *North* was thought a ſevere taſk maſter. But if that opinion of Lord *North* was well founded, what ought to be our opinion of Mr. *Pitt*? Lord *North* was Miniſter twelve years; and in which time he carried on a war with America, France, Spain, and Holland; yet he did not impoſe half the taxes that Mr. *Pitt* has done. Lord *North* had a very heavy and extenſive war eſtabliſhment to ſupport, during a longer period than Mr. *Pitt* has been in office; while Mr. *Pitt* has had only a peace eſtabliſhment to provide for. His war-department is yet to come. We complained of the expences of his father, who certainly was expenſive enough; but from the ſpecimens we have had of the ſon, we have ample reaſon to fear, that he will far exceed all his father's exceſſes.

His abilities in finance have been ſo highly prized, that Mr. *Pelham*, Mr. *Legge*, Monſieur *Neckar*, &c. appear but as ſecond rate men, when put in competition with Mr. *Pitt*. When praiſe is ſo extravagantly given, it generally excites a ſuſpicion that there are ſome defects

defects to conceal. The remark is ſtrictly verified in this caſe. Mr. *Pitt*'s reputation, as a financier, has received more than two or three important wounds. It is, therefore, not to be wondered, that his artificers work double tides in his favour.——A little truth will ſet this matter right, and place Mr. *Pitt* in his proper ſituation.

His project of taxing Coals, by placing an exciſe officer at the mouth of every Coal-pit in the kingdom, was founded in ſuch utter ignorance, not more of the article itſelf, than of the internal ſituation and ſtate of the conſumption, that although his natural pertinacity would not permit him to yield to private repreſentation, yet, when it came into the Houſe of Commons (that very Houſe of Commons which had been choſen in the day of his popularity) the project met with ſuch violent oppoſition, and diſplayed ſuch a total unacquaintance with the ſubject, that neither friendſhip nor partiality, nor even obligation could defend it.

His project of the Shop Tax yielded to the ſame fate. The argument in ſupport of it was founded in falſehood, and ſhewed his total want of knowledge. Upon this propoſition he reſolved not to ſubmit as he had done on the preceding occaſion, to any ſolicitation or aſſertion in theory; but to try the experiment;

ment; and having a majority, partly obtained and partly given, he moſt ungratefully attempted to put the odium upon them. The Shopkeepers however perſevered in their objections, upon which he attempted to palliate their complaint, by an anſwer that was equally an example of his obſtinacy, and of his ignorance. Some readers may ſay theſe are terms of harſhneſs, and illiberality; but in rating the qualifications of a man, who greatly overrates them himſelf, ſome latitude will be allowed. He told the Shopkeepers to lay the tax upon their cuſtomers; that is, to rob every perſon who came into their ſhops. To men of honour this advice was deteſtable; and in the judgment of every trader, alike repugnant and impracticable. Still he perſevered, and the tax in many places was levied by diſtreſs. Notwithſtanding the ſtrongeſt repreſentations, he affected a want of conviction. At length goaded by the aſtoniſhing and irreſiſtable eloquence of Mr. *Fox*, and ridiculed by the keen and poignant wit of Mr. *Sheridan*, he was compelled to relinquiſh it.

His project reſpecting Cotton, one of the moſt valuable manufactures in our iſland, by extending the laws of Exciſe to the Fuſtians, created ſuch a ſpirit of reſiſtance, that, had he perſevered, it muſt have produced a rebellion, or a total deſtruction of the manufacture.

To

To the ſpirit and good ſenſe of that part of the Houſe of Commons, which had virtue to oppoſe and detect his nefarious meaſures, the nation owes her deliverance from the three preceding projects. If the Gentlemen, who compoſed the Oppoſition, had not attacked and combated theſe meaſures with the utmoſt vigour and energy, the price of that moſt eſſential article FUEL, ſo neceſſary in all families, and in many manufactories, would have advanced ſo conſiderably, that the Poor, and many of the middle claſs of people, could not have purchaſed it, And an important article of cloathing, which gives employment to many thouſands, and is worn by many more, would have been totally annihilated. And the retail traders, ſo uſeful to the merchants and manufacturers by vending their commodities, muſt have left the kingdom, or entered into the humbleſt ſtations of dependence. But theſe are only a ſmall part of Mr. *Pitt*'s plans. He went a large ſtep further, when

He projected his Propoſitions reſpecting Ireland; which contained the ſeeds of eternal enmity and ſeparation between that kingdom and England; ſacrificing the moſt valuable manufactures of the latter, and enſlaving the legiſlature of the former. Juſt ſuch another ſeries of manacles loſt America. But the penetration of the manufacturers of England,

and

and the indignation of the Gentlemen of Ireland, ſaved both countries,——One would have thought, that after ſuch a capital defeat, he would have retired into the ſhade of obſcurity. But this ſuppoſition is founded on the eſtimation we uſually make of men who bluſh at a ſhameful tranſaction, and who feel the neceſſity of apologizing for error. Mr. *Pitt* has no ſuch emanation. His frame his perfectly mechanical.

He had another project againſt the Weſt Indies, which was of commuting the duties on Rum, &c. But this ſcheme was ſo equally puerile and ruinous, he never brought it forward. It was alike ſo fooliſh and deteſtable, ſo palpably deceitful and hazardous, that he could not find one man of character, who would give it his Support. There are ſome perſons who do not heſitate to ſay, that in the indulgence of revenge, at the diſappointment of this project, originated the encouragement given to the mad and wicked Scheme of deſtroying the Slave Trade.

His miſerable project of Tontine was ſo futile and contemptible to the plaineſt underſtanding, that it is aſtoniſhing there ever was one ſubſcriber to it. Had ſuch a piece of folly been produced by either Mr. *Pelham*, or Mr. *Legge*, they would have been the ſubject of ridicule in every Coffee-houſe in the metro-

polis.

polis. The poor dupes have been once relieved by Parliament already. The fact of making a public bargain one year, and opening it again in another, is ſuch a circumſtance, as would, at any other time, have totally ruined the credit of a Miniſter. But he did it without the bluſh of ſhame, or the apology of error.

His Commutation of the Tea-duty, which upon his firſt deceitful blazon, operated like a faſcination upon the unthinking, is now underſtood with ſorrow, and felt with ſeverity, throughout the kingdom. It was a manifeſt deception. It was detected and expoſed at the time by thoſe who ſaw the artifice. But all argument and appeal at that period were of no effect. It was a period of popular deluſion, which no man can account for, nor explain. It is the diſgrace of our remembrance, and will be the reproach of our poſterity. In any other man, a commutation upon the ſame principle, and upon a ſmaller ſcale, would have been called a fraud; and many a man has been committed from Bow-ſtreet for a trick which, in principle, was leſs diſhoneſt. Does the matter, being upon a large Scale, diminiſh the deception? Whenever a Miniſter introduces in his meaſures the rules of bargain, equivalency, and reciprocity, he muſt be underſtood to ſpeak in his private, as well as his public character; as a man, as well as a miniſter.

The capacities of private and public are interwoven. The want of veracity in the miniſter, is not to be excuſed by a pretended ſeparation of the man. The nation were aſſured, that if they would permit the tax upon Windows to be conſiderably more than doubled, the duty on Tea ſhould be lowered to an equivalent. This was the engagement. It was mutual. The Public have fulfilled, to the utmoſt, their part of the bargain——the Window tax has been extended to the laſt pane of glaſs: But has the miniſter performed his part——Quite the reverſe. For ſome time after this meaſure commenced, the Tea was much worſe in quality, than it had ever been; and much dearer in price; nor is there any probability of its being cheaper. Conſequently the promiſe of reciprocity has not been performed.

He made another promiſe reſpecting the reform of Parliament, What is become of that? Is it in like manner diſregarded:——But we have been told, he made that promiſe as a man, and he keeps it as a miniſter;——that is, he breaks it.——There are many more ſuch promiſes; but it would be endleſs to enumerate them all.

His project of exciſing Tobacco has alarmed every manufacturer in the Kingdom; not more from the unjuſt and inapplicable extenſion

tenſion of the Exciſe laws to the manufacture of Tobacco, than from the Public declaration of a Miniſter very high in authority and Confidence, (*Right Honourable Henry Dundas*) "That whenever any further encreaſe of revenue is wanted, if the Sum be conſiderable, it muſt be had by an application to the laws of Exciſe." This is ſpeaking very plain; and if the expences of our late armaments ſhould make new taxes neceſſary, the Public know what they have to expect from the preſent Miniſters. The Caſe of the Tobacco manufacturer to-day, may be the caſe of the Sugar-baker to-morrow, or any other manufacturer. He who is an advocate for the Exciſe, is an enemy to the Britiſh Conſtitution. He wiſhes to barter Liberty for Revenue. The firſt revenue-act of the Junto in the preſent reign, was an extenſion of the Exciſe to the makers of Cyder and Perry. But upon the Whigs being reſtored to office, under the auſpices of the Duke of Cumberland in 1765, the obnoxious part of the act was repealed, as abhorrent to the principles of the Conſtitution.——The Whigs are now driven from every department in the State; and the Faction being in full poſſeſſion, and having placed a Pupil of their own as oſtenſible Miniſter, they bring forward the Exciſe again. It is of true Tory origin——it was ſent from Italy to James I. but he durſt

not execute it; and therefore he left it to his ſon Charles, who hoped by his hypocriſy to conceal his deſign: the firſt Commiſſion of Exciſe was iſſued in 1627, and it was accompanied with a ſecret levy of troops. The Faction had an idea of employing troops in the Cyder Counties, and troops were marched; but fortunately this Scheme of bloodſhed was prevented by a repeal of the Act. Of the Tobacco Bill the firſt Law authority in the kingdom, ſpoke in the moſt indignant terms; he called it a maſs of contradictions, abſurdities, and oppreſſion; and the Miniſter, who affects to be high ſpirited, ſubmitted to this indelible Stigma on his character, as a financier.——What ſtronger proof need be given of his being only the *creature* of that Faction, which appointed him, and ſtill protects him.

## PEERAGE.

OF thoſe perſons who have applauded the Engliſh Conſtitution, the greateſt number have adopted a perſuaſion that this form of Legiſlation and Government was liable to no material abuſe. Had this perſuaſion been well founded, our Conſtitution would have merited all the encomiums with which it has been honoured. But Time has diſcovered a method, by which this glorious conſtitution, which

which has, for ages, been the boaſt of our own countrymen, and the admiration of foreigners, may be rendered as contemptible, or as deſpotic, as that of either Holland or Pruſſia. That beautiful ſyſtem of Juſtice and Equity, in the three eſtates of Legiſlation, which the Lords Somers and Godolphin imagined to have been eſtabliſhed at the Revolution, by the united Wiſdom of that period——the arts of demolition, which Meſſrs. *Pitt* and *Jenkinſon* ſo happily poſſeſs, have, in little more than a few weeks, perhaps deſtroyed for ever——without any oſtenſible reaſon——when there was no contention for the Crown, nor any commotion among the people——when the nation was engaged in no foreign war, and had juſt finiſhed, to her loſs and ſhame, an unfortunate diſpute with her own Colonies; without the ſmalleſt pretence of any kind whatever, that human penetration can diſcover, has the moſt alarming encreaſe been made to one of the three Eſtates, to the great danger of the other two, but moſt particularly to that of the Commons.

Among the many dangers to which our Conſtitution has been expoſed ſince the death of the late King, that of a plentiful (I had almoſt ſaid profligate) encreaſe of the Peerage has been one of the greateſt. It is a ſort of abuſe, which a faction in power may commit with

with impunity. When Queen *Anne* made a *dozen* peers, it was thought a violent Stretch of the Prerogative. No preceding Prince had ever ventured to do the like. The nation were alarmed by it; and though nobody doubted the prerogative, yet every body admitted, that the exerciſe might be abuſed. But Mr. *Pitt* and Mr. *Jenkinſon* have made *three* dozen of Engliſh Peers, beſides advancing many noble lords to higher titles, together with ſeveral Iriſh Peers. The fact appears ſo extraordinary, that as nothing is like it, neither in our own Hiſtory nor in that of any other nation, if it were not capable of proof, the veracity might well be diſputed.

*A State of the* ENCREASE *of the* ARISTOCRACY, *during the* nominal *Adminiſtration of Mr.* Pitt.

Charles Jenkinſon, created Lord Hawkeſbury
Sir James Lowther, Earl of Lonſdale.
Sir Tho. Egerton, Lord Grey de Wilton
Lord H. J. M. Scott, Lord Montagu
Sir Joſeph Yorke, Lord Dover,
Sir Charles Cocks, Lord Somers
James Dutton, Lord Sherborne
Noel Hill, Lord Berwick
Archibald Douglas, Lord Douglas

H. F. Carteret.

H. F. Carteret, Lord Carteret
Sir Harb. Harbord, Lord Suffield
Thomas Pitt, Lord Camelford
Edward Eliott, Lord Eliott
John Parker, Lord Boringdon
Thomas Townſhend, firſt Lord, and next Viſcount Sydney
Edwin Laſcelles, Lord Harewood
Lord Algernon Percy, Lord Louvaine
Sir Guy Carleton, Lord Dorcheſter
Sir G. A. Elliot, Lord Heathfield
Sir Lloyd Kenyon, Lord Kenyon
Sir James Harris, Lord Malmſbury
Sir J. G. Griffin, firſt Lord Howard, and afterwards Baron Braybrooke, with the remainder to A. Neville
Lord Gage, with the remainder to his Nephew Henry Gage, Son of General Gage, who commanded at Boſton
Lord Amherſt, Baron Amherſt of Montreal, with the remainder to W. P. Amherſt, his Nephew
Lord Howe, Baron Howe, with the remainder to the heirs male of his three Daughters, in ſucceſſion

*The following Scotch and Iriſh Peers have been created Engliſh Peers, during the ſame period.*

Duke of Gordon, created Earl of Norwich, and Baron Gordon
Duke of Athol, Earl Strange, and Baron Murray

Duke

Duke of Queenſbury, Baron Douglas
Earl of Abercorn, Viſcount Hamilton
Marquis of Waterford, Baron Tyrone
Earl of Shannon, Baron Carleton
Earl of Donegal, Baron Fiſherwick
Earl of Fife, Baron Fife
Viſcount Bulkeley, Baron Bulkeley
Viſcount Grimſtone, Baron Verulam
Lord Delaval, Baron Delaval
Lord Mulgrave, Baron Mulgrave 37.

*The following Peers have been advanced to higher Titles during the ſame period.*

EARLS

Lord Abergavenny, Earl of Abergavenny
Lord Ferrars, Earl of Leiceſter
Lord Paget, Earl of Uxbridge
Lord Talbot, Earl Talbot
Lord Groſvenor, Earl Groſvenor
Lord Beaulieu, Earl Beaulieu
Lord Camden, Earl Camden
Viſcount Howe, Earl Howe
Viſcount Mount Edgcumbe, Earl of Mount Edgcumbe
Lord Forteſcue, Earl Forteſcue
Lord Louvaine, Earl of Beverley.
Lord Digby, Earl of Digby.

MAR-

## MARQUISSES.

Earl Temple, Marquis of Buckingham
Lord Wycombe, Earl Wycombe, and Marquis of Lanſdown
Earl Gower, Marquis of Stafford
Viſcount Townſhend, Marquis Townſhend
Earl of Saliſbury, Marquis of Saliſbury
Viſcount Weymouth, Marquis of Bath
Earl of Abercorn, Marquis of Abercorn. 19

*Iriſh Peers created* during the ſame period.

W. Eden, created Lord Auckland
Sir S. Eardley, Lord Eardley
R. Stewart, Lord Londondery
Sir J. Browne, Lord Kilmaine,
Sir N. Lawleſs, Lord Cloncurry
C. T. Loftus, Lord Loftus
C. Maude, Lord Montalt
R. Malone, Lord Sunderlin
H. Carleton, Lord Carleton
L. Gardiner, Lord Mountjoy
H. Gore, Lord Annaly
R. Plunket, Lord Dunſany *(by ſummons)*
C. O'Calloghan, Lord Liſmore
J. Fitzgibbon, Lord Fitzgibbon
J. Scott, Lord Earlsfort
E. S. Pery, Viſcount Pery
Eliz. Pakenham, Counteſs of Longford
Earl of Antrim, with the remainder to his daughters, and their heirs male.

*Iriſh Peers advanced to higher titles*, during the ſame period.

Earl of Hillſborough, created Marquis of Downſhire
Earl of Tyrone, Marquis of Waterford
Earl of Clanricarde, Marquis of Clanricarde
Earl of Antrim, Marquis of Antrim
Viſcount Mayo, Earl Mayo
——— Carhampton, Earl Carhampton
——— Farnham, Earl Farnham
——— Carlow, Earl Portarlington
——— Glerawley, Earl Anneſley
——— Enniſkellen, Earl Enniſkillen
——— Erne, Earl Erne
Lord Carysfort, Earl Carysfort
Lord Doneraile, Viſcount ditto
Lord Gosford, Viſcount ditto
Lord Clonmore, Viſcount Wicklow
Lord Dartrey, Viſcount Cremorne
Lord Earlsfort, Viſcount Clonmell.

Every encreaſe of the Peerage weakens the conſequence and independence of the Houſe of Commons. The richeſt and moſt able Members of that Houſe, are taken from it, and placed in the Houſe of Lords. This practice has already transferred a very large ſhare of the landed property of the kingdom from the Democratic ſcale. Our Houſe of Commons, it is true, is complete in the number of perſons; but it conſiderably diminiſhed

in

in opulence. It would be exceedingly invidious, to ſelect certain repreſentatives, who are, at this day, for towns and counties; and to contraſt them with the repreſentatives, for the ſame towns and counties, thirty years ago. Every gentleman will make his own obſervations on his own county, and his own neighbourhood.

There is no aphoriſm more true, than that Influence follows Property. And does not every general election ſhew the encreaſed and encreaſing influence of the Peers, in the choice of Members of the Houſe of Commons? The danger formally announced by Mr. *Trenchard**, " that if ever the Lords ſhould have weight enough in the nation, to command the election of a majority in the Houſe of Commons, the latter will loſe all reſpect, and the people would loſe their liberty," is on the point of being verified. In no period of our Hiſtory, has the number of Peers been ſo great as at preſent. It has been a fixed principle with the Faction, to offer coronets to thoſe perſons, who had neither merit nor ſervices to plead; but who had, what Lord Melcombe calls, " *good marketable ware*;" that is, they had ſufficient influence to elect members of the Houſe of Commons. Nor has this traffic been confined to Bo-

* Cato's Letters.

roughs of a particular deſcription, and certain Cities only——Counties have been attempted.* The County Members have hitherto been ſuppoſed to be our brazen wall. When thoſe can be bargained for, the Democracy of our Conſtitution is totally at an end. From the month of October, 1760, when his Majeſty acceded to the Crown, to the month of October, 1790, there have been one hundred and twenty-two creations of Engliſh Peers. When the late King died, the Houſe of Lords conſiſted of only one hundred and ſixty-two Peers, excluſive of the Roman Catholics, the Scotch, and the Biſhops. Theſe are facts which require no comments.

A curious and intereſting queſtion might ariſe, whether a King, if he were diſpoſed, could make a like number of additional Members to the Houſe of Commons, by iſſuing writs to the city of Ely, the towns of Manchester, Birmingham, &c. &c.? Would the Houſe of Commons admit ſuch additional Members? The argument againſt ſuch admiſſion might be ſtrong, and might be purſued to a great extent: but what would it avail? it muſt end in a deciſion of this ſimple queſtion—Has the King ſuch a power?—If he has, he may encreaſe the Democracy to what-

* What was the negotiations reſpecting Lord Grimſtone's Engliſh Peerage, on the eve of the laſt General Election?

ever

ever number he pleaſes. Whatever arguments might be urged againſt an encreaſe of the Democracy, may be urged with greater force, againſt an encreaſe of the Ariſtocracy; becauſe one is periodical, the other permanent.—One reverts to the people, the other is hereditary. ---If the King has no ſuch power, does there not ſeem ſome great defect in the formation of our Conſtitution? It is admitted, that his Majeſty may create any number of Lords he thinks proper; there is no qualification required. In other words, therefore, it now appears, that there is a power in the Crown to overturn the Conſtitution, and make the Government an Ariſtocracy, or a Monarchy, as the two branches may agree, without conſulting the Democracy, who may be overpowered, or obſcured, by transferring to the Lords every principal Commoner.

Whether the views of the Faction go to the whole length of this Idea, or whether they are directed to a more immediate and ſhortened object, depends probably more upon the nature of their whole plan, than upon temporary expedients, or daily occurrences. If they apprehend, that their duration in power may not be long, this Scheme in encreaſing the Peerage to the extent they have, is both malicious and perſonal. And when we look at the aſtoniſhing encreaſe during

Mr.

Mr. *Pitt*'s adminiſtration *only*, and remember the intended reſtrictions in the late Regency bill, we need not heſitate in pronouncing on the motive, the practice, and the deſign.

In the reign of *George the firſt*, there was the ſame intention, but not the ſame art. The efficient men in thoſe days held the offices in *their own* names; and the royal meſſage was ſent *openly* to Parliament. There was no colluſion in the caſe. The object was to limit the Prince of Wales (afterwards *George the Second*) in his power of making peers, whenever he came to the crown. But the Public, with their uſual generoſity, reprobated the ſcheme. They condemned it in the ſtrongeſt language. It was unjuſt they ſaid to deprive the Prince of Wales of the power of honouring his friends, with the moſt gracious marks of his favour. Although the nation was at that time divided in their attachments, to the Houſe of *Stuart*, and to the Houſe of *Brunſwick*, yet they united in their diſapprobation of this attempt to violate the rights of the Prince. The deſign was therefore dropped. But the Faction of the preſent day have purſued a different courſe; beſides an occaſional and gradual encreaſe of the peerage, they have lately made a moſt enormous and alarming encreaſe, in a very ſhort period; with a view, no doubt, of precluding the

the Prince from making any future encreaſe, without creating an alarm of danger to the Conſtitution; of precluding any King or Miniſter hereafter, for ſometime at leaſt, from the exerciſe of this branch of the prerogative, although it ſhould be neceſſary in the acknowledgment of diſtinguiſhed fidelity and ability, or in the reward of public ſervice; without incurring a conſiderable ſhare of popular odium. This ſcheme is evidently more miſchievous and malignant than the old one by bill, which was open and avowed, and fairly ſubmitted to examination and diſcuſſion; for this, accompliſhesits end *ſecretly*; and without giving any alarm, except to thoſe who perceive its tendency; and at the ſame time that it ſaps the rights of the people, it alſo cankers the powers of the democracy. There are two points to be regained by this ſcheme: the firſt is to eſtabliſh the power of the Faction; the ſecond is to render a future creation of Peers a a meaſure of diſguſt, equally wounding to both prince and people. There is a cold and brutal malice in thus attempting to check the generoſity of the firſt, and to chill the affection of the laſt. The ſcheme is, however, diſcovered, and the Engliſh nation may reſent *the Plot* againſt their favourite Prince, when the Faction leaſt expect it.

CIVIL

## CIVIL LIST.

Without hazard of Contradiction, this may be called the purſe of the Faction; for in truth they have exerciſed a more abſolute command over it, during the whole of the preſent reign, than any of the oſtenſible miniſters. Hence have ariſen thoſe diſgraceful and unexplained applications to Parliament, for immenſe ſums of money to diſcharge incumbrances; which it was pretended this very liberal donative was inſufficient to pay. The Public were loſt in amazement each time theſe applications were made. It was impoſſible to reflect a moment upon the ſubject, without being filled with indignation and ſuſpicion. The King's ſtyle of living has always been exceſſively œconomical. It looks more like parſimony than magnificence——more like the Duke of Mecklenburgh than the King of Great-Britain. There is nothing external that wears the appearance of extravagance. The ſplendour of Royalty, which the nation have a right to expect from a revenue which they chearfully pay, and which far exceeds all former times, is no where to be ſeen. If any extraordinary expences are incurred (ſuch as rewarding the two Willis's, for inſtance) recourſe is immediately had to Parliament; and

and perhaps we may hear through the ſame channel of other expences, if the nominal miniſter is not deterred by the ſhame of ſuch frivolty.

When his Majeſty acceded to the Crown in the year 1760, he deſired to have a clear annual revenue of *Eight hundred thouſand pounds*, in lieu of the Civil Liſt Revenues, which had not always produced that ſum in the late reign. The propoſition was accepted; and the 800,000 has been conſtantly paid without any deduction whatever. At the ſame time, there were certain revenues reſerved to the Crown; that is, they were not ſurrendered to the Public with the other revenues; conſequently they ſtill continue to compoſe a part of the Royal Income.

Theſe reſerved Revenues are,

| | £. |
|---|---|
| The Revenues of Ireland, which Mr. Burke in his Thoughts on the Cauſes of the preſent Diſcontents, ſays, are near, *(per ann.)* - - | 90,000 |
| The Revenues of the Duchy of Lancaſter, before the late improvements, were ſtated to be *per ann.* - - | 20,000 |

| | £. |
|---|---|
| The Revenue of Wales, - | 10,000 |
| The Revenue of Cornwall, after paying all the the expences of the Lord Warden's Court, &c. | 70,000 |
| Four and and a half per cent. duty in the Weſt Indies - | 50,000 |
| Coal Pits at Louiſburgh, originally eſtimated at - - | 12,000 |
| The Revenue of Gibraltar produced in 1765 (and in Lord Heathfield's time more) | 13,804 |
| Fines and Forfeitures. The amount of this article is uncertain; but it has always been ſaid to be a conſiderable ſum. | |

The Civil Liſt, and the above Revenues, have been frequently eſtimated at upwards of a million, *communibus annis*. They have been more than once admitted in Parliament to exceed a million.

And, until the loſs of America, there were alſo the American Quit Rents. Thoſe of Virginia *only*, produced in the year 1771, Ten Thouſand Pounds.

In

In the year 1777 the Civil Liſt was augmented to NINE HUNDRED THOUSAND POUNDS *per annum*.

| | £. |
|---|---|
| In the year 1769 the arrears of the Civil Liſt were paid by Parliament, amounting to - | 513,511 |
| In the 1777, the arrears of the Civil Liſt were again paid by Parliament, amounting to - | 618,340 |
| In 1782, Third Arrears, amounting to - - | 295,877 |
| At the ſame time (1782) a *ſaving* was made to the Civil Liſt, by Mr. Burke's Act of Reform, amounting to near *(per annum)* | 100,000 |

The apology for the ſeveral applications to Parliament for the above ſums to diſcharge arrears, and for making the augmentation of 100,000l. *per annum*, principally conſiſted of this aſſertion, *That his Majeſty has a large Family.*

Although the fact is unqueſtionable, yet it ought to have been remembered, that the outgoings (as they are called) of the civil liſt, to the Royal Family, have diminiſhed, in grea-

ter proportion than the encreaſe of his Majeſty's Family.

The deaths of the William Duke of Cumberland, the Princeſs Dowager of Wales, the Duke of York, Princeſs Louiſa, Prince Frederick, Princeſs Amelia, and Henry Duke of Cumberland; and the marriages of the Princeſſes Auguſta and Matilda——All theſe have produced greater ſavings to the Civil Liſt, than the charges hitherto attending his Majeſty's iſſue.

At the death of the late King, who had likewiſe a large family, and whoſe revenues did not always amount to 800,000l. there was a balance in the Exchequer due to the Crown, of *one hundred and eighteen thouſand pounds*.

When the old *Duke of Newcaſtle* was turned out, to make room for Lord *Bute*, this balance was *encreaſed*, to between *one hundred and thirty*, and *one hundred and forty thouſand pounds**.

* When Mr. Grenville came to the Treaſury, which was after Lord Bute and Mr. Jenkinſon had been there not quite one year, he found that the out-goings, upon the eſtabliſhment, of the Civil Liſt, EXCEEDED the income, upwards of ninety thouſand pounds *per annum*.

There

There have been ſeveral other *gains* ariſing from particular circumſtances——ſuch as, the hire of the Hanoverian troops during the War, the revenues of Oſnabrug during twenty years, preſents from the EAST*, the bargain for Somerſet-Houſe†, &c.

And it is likewiſe deſerving of obſervation, that there are ſeveral offices and departments under the Crown, which are not paid out of the Civil Liſt; ſuch as the Admiralty, Treaſurer of the Navy, &c. they being paid out of the ſums annually voted by Parliament. The ſeveral boards and officers of revenue; the cuſtoms, exciſe, ſtamps, &c. are paid out of their own receipts.

His Majeſty has a further aid from a large Penſion Liſt‡.

To all theſe muſt be added, the revenues of Hanover, and its dependencies.

Alſo the intereſt of the Debts due to the late King, in Germany, &c.

The two laſt articles deſerve a few words.

* If this article ſhould be thought over-rated at a million, will the Partizans of the Court be pleaſed to ſtate the value of thoſe preſents from the Nabob of Arcot *only?*

† The gain by the bargain of Somerſet-Houſe has been eſtimated at one hundred thouſand pounds.

‡ This alludes to the Penſions upon England. The Penſions on Scotland are paid in Scotland, before that revenue is remitted to England. And the Penſions upon Ireland, are paid by the people of that kingdom. None of theſe are any burthen upon the Civil Liſt.

*Firſt,*

*Firſt, reſpecting the Revenues of Hanover.*

Some Gentlemen * have been of opinion "that the Britiſh Nation has no right to enqure into the receipts from his Majeſty's German dominions, and the Biſhoprick of Oſnabrug." This aſſertion is founded in a groſs miſtake; and it is one of thoſe errors, which the Faction are ever anxious to encourage; becauſe they derive, from ſuch errors, a conſiderable degree of ſupport to their favourite Syſtem of *Secrecy*; than which nothing can be more oppoſite to the genius of our Nation, and the Spirit of our Conſtitution.

If Hanover is to be conſidered by the inhabitants of theſe Kingdoms, as ſo detached, and ſo ſeparate a part of his Majeſty's dominions, that they ought to have no knowledge of it; then it muſt follow, not merely as a matter of courſe, but of juſtice, that neither our money, nor our men, ought ever to be expended in the preſervation, or ſupport of that electorate.

The tranſactions of the preſent reign, as well as of the late, are in direct oppoſition to this doctrine. Will any perſon aſſert, that our wars on the Continent have not been owing to our connections with Hanover? In

* The Author of Thoughts on the Cauſes of the preſent Diſcontents. Edit. 1770. Page 61.

the

the late reign Mr. *Pitt* ſaid, England was chained, like Prometheus, to the rock of Hanover. Are we leſs Germanized in the preſent reign? Have we not, at this moment, a large army of Heſſians in our pay? And can this army be employed in any other manner, than either in the defence of Hanover, or in the ſupport of our alliances, made in conſequence of our connection with Hanover? In the reign of the firſt George, the Duchies of Bremen and Verden were purchaſed with Engliſh money, and added to that electorate.

The revenues of theſe Kingdoms have been frequently applied to the defence, ſecurity, and encreaſe of his Majeſty's dominions in Germany. The revenues of Hanover have never been applied in the ſervice of England; nor even towards an additional ſupport of the Royal Family. When General *Spoercken* died, the *Duke of Brunſwick* wiſhed to ſucceed him in the Command at Hanover; and from his having fought our battles, and married our King's ſiſter, every body in Germany and England thought his claim ſo juſt, he would undoubtedly be appointed; but the Queen's brother, a youth at that time, was preferred to him.

It was one of the charges againſt America, that ſhe did not contribute to the Public Stock; that England having expended immenſe

menſe ſums in defence and ſupport of America, that Country ought, in her turn, to aſſiſt England. Might not the ſame thing be ſaid of Hanover?——However, America did contribute very conſiderably by her trade; but what trade have we with Hanover?——Our connection with Hanover has brought us into many expenſive alliances, and very expenſive wars. If, therefore, we have no right to enquire into the produce of that electorate, we have no right to pay for its defence. But if the revenues of theſe kingdoms, are occaſionally applied to the defence of *all* his Majeſty's dominions; every branch of revenue, from every branch of thoſe dominions, ought to be brought to one focus.

The revenues of Hanover, according to Riſbeck's letters, amount to 480,000 Rheniſh Florins, and the Statiſtical Tables, 820,000*l.* ſterling; including the Hartz Mines, which alone produce a ſurplus, after deducting all expences, of 453,000 dollars*.

If this ſtatement is true, which there is good reaſon to believe, from the eſtimation in which the authorities are held, there muſt be a very conſiderable *ſurplus*, after defraying

* The ſtrict ſecrecy, with which every particular concerning the revenues of Hanover, is kept, precludes all information on the ſubject; except ſuch as is to be found in the German books. This extraordinary caution, ſeems to furniſh a ſuſpicion, that theſe revenues are under-rated in the printed accounts.

the

the expences of the eſtabliſhment. In the late King's time, this *ſurplus* was ſuppoſed to exceed 100,000l. *per ann.* In the preſent reign, from the improvements which have been made, and the ſavings which have accumulated by the abſence of the Court, and various other diminutions of expence, the *ſurplus* muſt have encreaſed to *three times* that ſum; that is, to 300,000l. *per annum.*

The next article, is *the intereſt of the debts* * *due to the late King.*—This is generally ſuppoſed, and is generally believed, to amount at leaſt to 150,000l. *per annum.*

But if the Faction think this article is overrated, will they be pleaſed to ſhew the correſpondence with the Court of Saxony *only*, for a few years previous to the death of the late Princeſs of Wales?

The reader will form his own idea of this immenſe, unknown, and unexampled revenue. That it has, under all the preceding circumſtances, been found inſufficient, and that it is ſtill ſaid to be ſo, are points, which lie beyond the extent of human wiſdom to comprehend.

* Amongſt other mortgages to the Elector of Hanover, is that of the county of Bentheim: the revenues of which he receives; the ſum we do not know; but it cannot be a trifle, from what Schlozer ſays, who calculates the inhabitants to exceed twenty thouſand.

Suppoſe the nett amount to be *only* one million and a half *per annum*, though undoubtedly it is conſiderably more, let us remark, that the whole revenue of the *King of Sardinia*, at the higheſt calculation, amounts to the ſame ſum* ; and that he keeps a well-appointed army of thirty thouſand men, garriſons, fortifications in perfect condition, arſenals, a militia, &c. He alſo has a large family ; and beſides all theſe, he maintains a ſplendid Court.——The Britiſh Monarch, out of his revenue, has only the Civil Government and his Family to ſupport. The Britiſh army, militia, guards, garriſons, ordnance, &c. and the Navy throughout all its departments ; all officers and boards of revenues, &c. &c. &c. are paid by Parliament without touching a guinea of his Majeſty's revenue.

Since there are no viſible channels for the expenditure of this immenſe revenue, let us *imagine* a few.

*Suppoſe* a Government formed upon no principle whatever ; *ſuppoſe* it ſubſiſting by expedients, and proceeding on all occaſions, except when a diminution of the Empire is intended, without ſyſtem, plan, or connection—muſt

* The beſt French accounts ſtate the King of Sardinia's revenues to amount to no more than thirty ſix millions of livres per annum ; which ſum is exactly one million and a half ſterling.

not

not ſuch a Government be ſupported by Corruption? by a corruption the moſt vile, notorious and coarſe; for as the neceſſity advances in infamy, Depravity will advance in her price of Security? The douceurs of 1764 were doubled in 1784, *Suppoſe* a *new officer* created, unknown to the corruption of former times, (for corruption, like other ſciences, has its improvements and refinements,) and nameleſs, indeed, for the preſent, becauſe he is neither oſtenſible nor reſponſible; but, however, an idea of his duty may be collected, if he ſhould be called *Purveyor of Parliament*. There is a ſpecies of men who may be contracted for, with the ſame facility as other animals; the difference is only in the price: and if the Nabob of Arcot could have nine members in a late Parliament, another Prince may have ninety, or double that number. *Suppoſe*, amongſt the modern improvements in corruption, a practice ſhould have commenced, of beſtowing five hundred pounds, every ſeſſion, on the mover aud ſeconder of the addreſs in each Houſe.—*Suppoſe* that a conſiderable number of perſons of a certain deſcription, who *ſeem* to be independent, and, therefore, cannot take places, without affecting their oſtenſible purity; that each of theſe ſhould receive from five hundred to two thouſand pounds, for his ſervices during a ſeſſion.—

*Suppoſe* many places and appointments to be held in fictitious or borrowed names, and the ſalaries and profits to be doubled, in order to make proviſion for a ſecond ſon, a brother, or a nephew.—*Suppoſe* large ſums of money to be monthly and weekly impreſſed, in regular routine, to certain perſons, for *Secret Service*; undiſtinguiſhed, unknown, and impenetrable; alike in the application, the channel or the utility. And *ſuppoſe* a ſecret eſtabliſhment to exiſt ſomewhere, of confidential Emiſſaries, and Commis, for managing, receiving and veſting, immenſe and unaccountable ſums, and revenues, in different depots, annuities, and ſecurities.—Would not any perſon ſay, that the Civil Liſt, great as it is, together with all the other revenues, if they were twice the preſent amount, might not be thus expended, and diſpoſed of? And if ſuch an *ideal* and *imaginary* picture, preſented in any part of it, a view of the manners and practices of the preſent age in Britain, would not the moſt indifferent Spectator ſay, that our corruption and ſervility, exceeded the proſtitution and degeneracy of the Romans?

Upon this degeneracy of the Romans, there occurs a remark, reſulting from a review of the State of Rome at the eve of her diſſolution. At that period it was, that the private opulence of the Romans, being at the higheſt pitch,

pitch, ſerves to ſhew, that where that *greateſt human defender* of a State, the PUBLIC SPIRIT, is wanting, all other conſiderations ſink to nothing. At this day, the multitude among us, ſpeak, as if mechanically impreſſed with a kind of reſpect for certain great eſtates in this country—the Marlborough eſtate, the Beaufort eſtate, ths Groſvenor eſtate, the the Lonſdale eſtate, the Grenville eſtate, &c. &c. And the truth is, that ſuch eſtates are poſitive great; but comparatively with the Fortunes of certain private Romans of that Epoch, they cannot be ſaid to exceed mediocrity.

More than one of the Roman Families had an income of conſiderably above a million ſterling. Some had four hundred thouſand pounds ſterling a year; *others about* two hundred and fifty thouſand; ſome of which enormous rentals were diſhonored by the moſt worthleſs poſſeſſors, by the moſt enervating Luxury, and the moſt taſteleſs magnificence. This is no Cinical ſally. The degeneracy of thoſe rich Romans was but the common peſtilence of the times. *The love of country*, that great cementing Principle of Union and National Force, having been long extinguiſhed, the vileſt, ſtupideſt, rankeſt egotiſm was become, with them, their whole of policy. And thus, while

while every Man imagined that he was very wiſely taking care of himſelf, one univerſal ruin ſwept them all. One trait of their then prevalent character, will hardly be thought unappoſite or untemporary. The Roman Commonalty, ſeduced by the blandiſhments in the empty ſound of *Eaſe*, of *better Times*, were not averſe to the infamous PEACE made with *Alaric*; and this deſtructive meaſure was carried in the ſenate by the influence of an inſolent, ambitious Miniſter, who notoriouſly held with the ſpies of the enemy, and negotiated accordingly. One only diſſentient ſenator, *Lampadius*, ſtood up, and ſaid aloud, "*This is* NOT *a Peace, but a compact of our* "*inſlavement.*" Upon which free words he was forced immediately to fly to ſanctuary.

Such was the proſtration of the Public-ſpirit, at that infamous Epoch. But not long was it before that thoſe great-eſtated men of Rome had ample reaſon to repent that degeneracy of theirs, ſo pregnant of detriment, deſtruction, and diſrepute. Their liberty long gone, their honor indelibly ſtained by their meanneſs, they had nothing left but their lives. Nor could their poſſeſſions fall into worſe hands than their own. Comparatively to them, the Barbarians were meritorious characters; as thoſe Romans, with all their opulence, had no character at all, unleſs total worthleſſneſs

worthleſſnes be one. And ſo true is this, that with all the proud importance which they probably annexed to their fortunes, not one of their names is recorded in the annals of their times, alike the diſgrace of their country, and the diſdain of Hiſtory. All that we know of them is, that they had the generical appellation of Romans, but no particular one to diſtinguiſh them from the croud of wretches who fell with them, and through their fault.

Here it would be offering a ſurfeit to curioſity, an indignity to the human imagination, to point out as objects of either, that miſerable Maſs of Worthleſſneſs, the young Nobility of Rome in thoſe days, whoſe whole tenor of behaviour, and abandonment of every thing that was great and honourable, was ſuch as if they had taſked themſelves to prove, that it was not their fault if the poet's prediction was not verified of the Roman Degeneracy's being to grow worſe and worſe from age to age.

Damnoſa quid non imminuit dies?
Ætas parentum, pejor avis, tulit
Nos nequiores, mox qaturos
Progeniem vitioſiorem. *Hor.* Lib. 3. Od. 6.

Hard fate of Rome!--In other countries, the riſing Generation is commonly ſpoke of as the

the Anchor of Hope: Among the Romans, it was, it ſeems, one of the cauſes of their deſpair.

From this apoſtrophe, totally diſconnected indeed, but naturally ariſing from the ſubject, we will return to the firſt object; only to remark, that from a revenue ſo unexampled and royal, and exceeding that of any other monarch in Europe, becauſe this revenue is not charged with any military or naval expences, but is confined to the civil government and the ſupport of the Royal dignity—the nation views with concern, and grief, the moſt aimable, and the moſt accompliſhed, *Heir Apparent* to the throne, that ever honoured and flattered the wiſhes of a faithful and generous people, ſtruggling with adverſity; yet diſpenſing his bounties to the extent of his limited ſcale. A ſon of whom the loftieſt ſovereign might be proud. The honour of his Houſe, and the hope of his Country. In manners, elegant and eaſy. In all branches of education, experienced and finiſhed: uniting the politeneſs of a gentleman, with the erudition of a ſcholar.

The Public have an intereſt in the contraction of his ſphere; and however the Faction may triumph for a day, it is impoſſible that this conqueſt can continue, if there is either virtue in the country, or honour in the court.

THE

# THE BROTHERS.

Mr. *Pitt*'s advocates aſſume great pretence to what they are pleaſed to call an immaculate purity of his character, in the department of finance; and if boaſting in newſpapers of public virtue and public integrity, are to be admitted as proofs of either, then undoubtedly he poſſeſſes them in a greater degree than any of his predeceſſors: for never had a miniſter ſuch great, nor ſo many obligations to the liberty of the Preſs as he has; yet in no adminiſteration have there been ſo many proſecutions againſt it. And if the newſpapers tell us truth, his brother is equally conſpicuous for unſullied virtue, purity, and chaſtity.

Some time ago, the printers inſerted in their papers a ſilly paragraph, ſaying, or reporting, (I forget which) that Mr. *Pitt*, gambled in the ally. To be ſure this was a great crime; and although the ſame thing had been ſaid of Lord *North*, Lord *Lanſdown*, and other miniſters, yet Mr. *Pitt*, rating his character, or his virtue, higher than any of his predeceſſors, proſecuted the Printers; and it has been ſaid, they ſmarted pretty ſeverely for their ignorance. Now although it might have been no diſcommendable condeſcenſion

in Mr. *Pitt*, to have overlooked ſuch an inſignificant matter, eſpecially after other miniſters had done the like; conſidering, as they always ſaid, that miniſters were fair game, yet he inheriting none of the groſs qualities of our nature, reſolved to correct the vulgar errors of former miniſters, and to record this inſtance of his purity; thereby giving a new illuſtration to that beautiful obſervation of Shakeſpeare,

Let the gall'd jade wince,
Our withers are unwrung.

His virtue, like the perſon of *Achilles*, is invulnerable. He is "doubly armed," not between life and death, but between innocence and Lord *Camden*. The late Lord *Bath* uſed to ſay, that they (meaning himſelf, Sir *William Windham*, &c.) could have frequently furniſhed the Public with the moſt intereſting information, had they not been deterred by the falſe conſtruction, which was often put upon their papers, by the prerogative lawyers of the court*; who by denominating every

* "It hath been our misfortune to fall under the high diſpleaſure of a certain gentleman, [the miniſter,] for having exerted the privilege of every Briton, in delivering our ſentiments upon public affairs; but there is one peculiar hardſhip in our caſe: that at the very time when he makes uſe of *his authority* to reſtrain the freedom of our pens, he is known to employ

every political paper a libel, that was not written in ſupport of the miniſter, thereby kept the nation in ignorance, for ſome years, of thoſe very meaſures, which were afterwards ſo pointedly condemned. Yet theſe lawyers winked at all the libels, which came from the miniſterial writers. "Such officers "do the miniſter beſt ſervice; he keeps "them like an apple in the corner of his "jaw†." The wonder is, that men of talents and learning can ſubmit to ſuch proſtitution and drudgery. Is not Lord *Mansfield*'s character indelibly ſtained by the opinions he has delivered on *political crimes*‡?

The political crime of libel, is not aſcertained by any ſtatute or known rule; conſequently it is matter of opinion only. The paper which at one time is called a libel, is often a paper of great merit at another; yet the ciminal law ought to be immutable.---

So

employ others to throw about his ſcandal at random. The batteries of power and the preſs at the ſame time, are too great odds againſt any writer, who hath no other weapons to defend himſelf than Truth and his Pen." Craftſman, January, 30, 1731.

† Shakeſpeare. Hamlet.

‡ And is not the great Lord *Bacon*'s character diſgraced and ſtigmatized, for ever, by the proſtitution of his talents in ſupport of the wicked and arbitrary deſigns of the Court? Let any one read Mr. Juſtice Foſter's Diſcourſe on High Treaſon, at page 199, and he will be ſatisfied of *Bacon*'s villany. Where political Law begins, there Conſtitutional Freedom ends.

So that this intereſting point, upon which ſo much public liberty depends, is at preſent a matter of mere caprice; therefore the ſubject well deſerves the attention of the legiſlature*.

Mr. *Pitt*, being thus doubly fenced can fear no aſſailant.

The *Pelhams* were not ſo fortunate, their conduct was ſeverely ſcrutinized both in and out of Parliament; but a firſt lord of the treaſury, and a ſecretary of ſtate have not the ſame opportunities, in an affected buſtle and preparation for war, of rendering reciprocal ſervices to each other, that preſent themſelves to a firſt lord of the treaſury and a firſt lord of the admiralty. Theſe two offices are capable of being made mutually convenient, mutually friendly, and mutually confidentially. It is the firſt time that we have ſeen theſe two great offices in the ſame family; and it is

* Theſe political crimes, may, at length, introduce a practice, of changing, the Judges as well as the Chancellor, every time there is a changing of the Miniſtry. Some late miniſters have ſaid, when their appointments took place, that they muſt have their own Chancellors. A future miniſter may perhaps ſay, upon his appointment, that he muſt have his own Chief Juſtice. It may indeed be anſwered, that the judges cannot be removed—it was once ſaid that the Scotch Lords could not be made Engliſh peers. If the thing has not been already thought of, will ſome member or agent of the Faction, ſtate to the Public the particulars of thoſe offers, reſpecting the Common Pleas, in Sir W. de Grey's time?

hoped

hoped, for the ſake of public decency at leaſt, that it will be the laſt. But, " Mr. *Pitt*, is " an honourable man."

The late Lord *Chatham*, when Mr. *Pitt*, thought theſe two offices could not be kept too diſtinct. He aſcribed that enormous profuſion of public money, prior to his coming into office in 1757, to this improper, and as emphatically called it, dangerous union.

Let us remember the diſapprobation of the experienced Lord *Sandwich*, who now may be called the Neſtor of the Houſe of Lords, to the meaſure of ſending the *two Howes* to America. He foretold all the evil conſequences, which aroſe from the reciprocity of the *two Brothers*.

An attempt to extract truth from ſome of the public accounts, is generally a circumſtance of great difficulty, and ſometimes of inviduous perſonality. And if from the knowledge of a perfect confidence ſubſiſting between the principals, there ſhould exiſt a connivance ſomewhere, in the impreſs and auditory departments, it is not the ſelling of old ſtores, or granting protections, though perhaps matters of great abuſe and great profit, that becomes an object deſerving of our attention—If millions which are vote for one ſervice, are applied to another, without the poſſibility of detection.—But let us ſuppoſe a caſe,

caſe, which we know does not exiſt at preſent, and which we know in Mr. *Pitt's* family never can exiſt; but which may happen at ſome future period, when the people may be indifferent to their intereſts, and in a fit of careleſs confidence repoſed in the Court, reſign the exerciſe of their deareſt rights, for which their anceſtors bravely fought and freely bled, to the commands of the firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury—Suppoſe this firſt Commiſſioner to be only the firſt inſtrument of a Faction, and ſuppoſe the firſt Lord of the Admiralty to be the firſt inſtrument of this Commiſſioner, would not the few men who will uſe their own judgment, and in the worſt of times there will be a few, would not they ſpeak of theſe circumſtances, as forming a moſt alarming manœuvre for the execution of the moſt dangerous contrivances? And would they not ſay, the ſcheme was well managed for concealing the deſigns, until ripe for execution? And ſuppoſe ſuch firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, together with his ſecret prompters and maſters, ſhould have ſeveral jobs, contracts, and promiſes to perform, in which the form of a Parliamentary approbation was neceſſary, but which they were conſcious, were ſo abominably odious and infamous, they could not bring them forward during the laſt ſeſſion of a parliament:

And

And ſuppoſe that the——of that time, ſhould happen to want either the ability, or the inclination, or both, to ſpare money for the purpoſe of obtaining a new Parliament of ſervile principles and pliable tempers——*What might be the contrivance of ſuch a Junto and their Commiſſioners?*

Is it not poſſible, that they might ſet up the pretence of war?—Circumſtances are always happening ſufficient to juſtify ſuch an affectation at any period; or ſome paſt circumſtance might be taken up, that at firſt was not intended to be the ſubject of any thing more than a memorial; and this might ſerve the purpoſe much better, as it would not ſeem to have any connection with the deſign. The king might be told, that his honour had been attacked, and his flag inſulted, and the moſt vigorous preparations for war muſt be made to reſent the injury. An account might be laid before Parliament, and a complaiſant parliament, without inſtituting an enquiry into the grounds and truth of the pretence, or even the dates of the facts, might grant the money required. The Admiralty might happen to be the war department, and conſequently the principal department of expence. And if the firſt Commiſſioner of this department, ſhould be in ſtrict union, cement and confidence with the Treaſury, every thing might be underſtood, admitted and confirmed. There would

would be no obligation to the——in ſuch a caſe, as the buſineſs is ſuppoſed to be done in a way, that is totally independent of him. The eve of war is a moment of buſtle throughout the kingdom: all other conſiderations are abſorbed in it. It would therefore be the choice moment for a general election. Peerages might be bartered for boroughs; and all the trade of corruption ſuddenly ſet afloat. The people might bribed with their o vn money. And after purchaſing a new Parliament, and expending three millions of money in *various ways*, all this ſuppoſed buſtle, alarm, and expectation of war, might be permitted to end, with more diſgrace than it began; without obtaining any reparation of honour, or acknowledgment of error; without obtaining any new point of intereſt, or indemnification of expence.

If ſuch a caſe were ever to happen in this kingdom, who would not ſay, that the nation had been wickedly duped to ſerve the purpoſes of Party and Faction? Would not ſuch a deception, rouze from the loweſt ſtate of lethargy, a people leſs enlightened than thoſe of England? The laſt queſtion muſt be anſwered affirmatively, and therefore it is preſumed, that ſuch a circumſtance can never happen in England, without raiſing a general outcry againſt the Culprits. Nor can it be

ſuppoſed,

ſuppoſed, that a Parliament which had been ſo choſen, unleſs indeed it conſiſted of the worſt of mankind, would not eagerly embrace the firſt moment to aſſert their own independence of character, and thereby exonerate themſelves from the ſuſpicion, of being parties to ſo foul a treachery and parricide. The penſioned Parliament of Charles II. by whom the kingdom was plundered and betrayed, when compared with them, would appear perfectly immaculate, in the eye of poſterity. But as this is not our caſe at preſent, let us cheriſh the hope, that it never will. And the beſt proof of it is, that a Parliament ſo abandoned could never be elected, nor that a people ſo loſt to ſhame and their own dignity could ever have exiſtence; and therefore we may aſſure ourſelves, that it is a repreſentation, like *Dante's Inferno*, exiſting no where but in imagination.

But however we may agree, that no ſuch caſe as this can befal us, eſpecially not during Mr. *Pitt*'s adminiſtration; yet there is another matter, which in the preſent ſituation of our affairs, requires a very different, and more ſerious conſideration. This is the matter of expence, incurred by our late precipitate, violent and extenſive armaments; for as the country muſt pay the expence, the country are intereſted in the whole conſideration. Nor is it a matter of either difficult,

or abſtruſe inveſtigation. The whole of it lies in a ſimple ſtatement of facts, and dates; upon which every man is able to make his own concluſion. There can be no difference of opinion, if men are but honeſt to themſelves, their country and poſterity. But thoſe who are ready to ſacrifice a permanent and national intereſt, to another that is only temporary and perſonal, will affect to decide according to their advantage; and therefore the judgment of ſuch men ought not to be held in any degree of eſtimation. They receive the pay of the Court, either *publicly* or *privately*.

The expence is undoubtedly enormous; and queſtionable at leaſt, if not cenſurable. We have fitted out a large fleet, and more heavy ſhips in it, than in any fleet ſent out in the brilliant war of 1758; and nothing has been effected by it.

Whoever compares the pretended cauſe of arming, with the dates of the ſeveral facts connected with it, will ſay, that no new object of any importance has been accompliſhed, no negociation has been influenced, no deſign of hoſtility has been checked, or accelerated, by it. The whole has been a gaſconade of putting to ſea (where there was no enemy) and coming home again---to amuſe the nation.—Like

" The

" The King of France with twenty thouſand men,
" Went up a hill—and then came down again."

The expence of making this parade has afforded the miniſter ſome freſh opportunities of encreaſing his influence; particularly among the tribes of contractors and jobbers; whoſe intereſt at the time of a general election may be turned to a very good account; and may be made a very adequate ſubſtitute, in ſome places, for the votes of the revenue officers. The putting ſo many ſhips in commiſſion, has alſo encreaſed his patronage; but it has put a ſtop to the trade and commerce of the kingdom; it has ruined many merchants; it has raiſed the prices of ſeamens wages, of inſurance, freightage, exchange, the intereſt of money, and the neceſſaries of life.

## FACTS *with their* DATES.

1789.

May 14, Captain Mears's veſſel ſeized by the Spaniards in Nootka Sound.

1790.

Feb. 10, The Spaniſh Ambaſſador in London, informed the miniſtry of the ſeizure made in Nootka Sound.

Feb. 26, An anſwer was given to the Spaniſh Miniſter's communication, which is ſaid to have been in terms of ſuch haughtineſs

haughtineſs, that when it arrived at Madrid, the Court of Spain immediately began to arm.

April 13, The Miniſtry were in poſſeſſion of Captain Mears's Caſe, or firſt draft of his memorial; conſequently they were now in poſſeſſion of the whole ſtate of the information reſpecting Nootka Sound.

April 19, Mr. Pitt, opened his Budget, with ſtrong and unequivocal implied aſſurances of continued peace.

April 26, Comes the King's Meſſage to both Houſes of Parliament, complaining of the ſeizure made by the Spaniards in Nootka Sound.

April 27, A warm Impreſs for Seamen, in all the ports of Great Britain.

May 5, Another anſwer was given to the Spaniſh Miniſter.

May 7, Firſt proclamation offering bounties for Seamen.

May 11, Mr. Fitzherbert, leaves London to go to Madrid. There had been no Ambaſſador at Madrid for ſome time paſt. Mr. Fitzherbert, was appointed Ambaſſador in November, 1789.

May 16, Firſt memorial preſented to the Court of Spain, by the Charge des Affaires: ſent by a Meſſenger who left

left London on the 4th, arrived at Paris on the 8th, and on the 15th, at Madrid.

To this memorial, anſwer was made by the Spaniſh Adminiſtration, "that the King of Spain was ſincerely inclined to diſarm upon principles of reciprocity, and proportioned to the circumſtances of the two Courts; adding that the Court of Spain was actuated by the moſt pacific intentions, and a deſire to give every ſatisfaction and indemnification, if juſtice was not on their ſide; provided England did as much if ſhe was found to be in the wrong." In this anſwer it was obſerved, that the Iphigenia, one of the veſſels captured in Nootka Sound, was under Portugueſe colours, and had a paſſport from the Governor of Macao. But as the veſſels which had been captured, had been releaſed by the Viceroy of Mexico; the King of Spain, had looked upon the affair as concluded. And Count de Florida Blanca, in a ſubſequent letter to Mr. Fitzherbert, ſays, "that by the reſtitution of the veſſels, their furniture, and cargoes, or their value, by the Governor of Mexico, every thing is placed in its original ſtate—*the object your excellency aims at.*"

Every aſſurance from the Court of Spain, ſhews that the Catholic King never intended war.

[All

[All this month, the Britiſh Miniſtry are arming moſt vigorouſly. The Impreſs is extended and continued throughout the three kingdoms. The merchants ſervice is every where ſtopped.]

June 4, the Court of Spain delivered a memorial to all the foreign miniſters at Madrid, ſtating, "that the King of Spain being informed of the particulars laid before his miniſters on the 16th of May, by the Britiſh Charge des Affaires, reſpecting the veſſel captured in Nootka Sound, had cauſed his miniſter, the Count de Florida Blanca, to anſwer the ſaid Charge des Affaires on the 18th of May, "That his Majeſty is ready to enter into every examination and diſcuſſion, moſt likely to terminate the diſpute in an amicable way; and if juſtice requires it, will certainly diſapprove of the conduct, and puniſh his ſubjects, if they have gone beyond their powers. The firſt time our Ambaſſador made a notification of this matter to the miniſtry at London, was on the 10th of Feb. laſt. The high and menacing tone and manner in which the anſwer of the Britiſh Miniſter was couched, made the Spaniſh Cabinet entertain ſome ſuſpicions,

cions, that it was made not ſo much for the purpoſe of the diſpute in queſtion, but as a pretext to break entirely with our Court.——Laſtly, the King of Spain will readily enter into any plan, by which future diſputes on this ſubject may be obviated, that no reproach may be upon him as having refuſed any means of reconciliation."

[During all this month the Britiſh Miniſtry continued to make the moſt vigorous preparations for war.]

July 24, The Declaration and Counter Declaration were ſigned at Madrid.

July 27, Declarations and Counter Declarations were ſigned at Reichenbach in Sileſia, between Pruſſia, England, Holland and the Emperor.

During this month *(July)* the Spaniſh treaſures from America were daily arriving at Cadiz, and other Ports in Spain. Fourteen ſhips from Vera Cruz, Monteviedo, New Orleans, Campeachy, and the Havannah, brought to Cadiz, upwards of two Millions of Piaſtres, beſides large quantities of wrought ſilver, caſtor, coffee, hides, ſugar, tobacco, &c. &c. To St. Andre and St. Sebaſtian, other veſſels brought upwards of half a million of piaſtres, beſides various merchandize.---If the Britiſh Cabinet had truly intended the war which they affected, they would

would have intercepted theſe treaſures; the coming of which was notorious to all Europe. But the Court of Spain does not ſeem to have been alarmed concerning the ſafety of theſe treaſures; for the declaration and counter declaration are not ſigned 'till towards the latter end of the month. Yet during the whole month, the Britiſh Miniſtry continue making the moſt vigorous preparatious for war.

Auguſt 1. The Dutch ſhips of war arrive at Spithead.

Auguſt 5. The declaration, and counter declaration with Spain, printed in the London Gazette.

Auguſt 7, The Trelawney Planter, Captain M'Donald, from Jamaica, *ſtopped* and *ſearched* in the Gulf of Florida, by a Spaniſh ſhip of war; and the Captain ſeverely treated by the Spaniards.--- No notice is taken of this affair, which is of the firſt importance, and is a renewal of the old claim of *ſearching*, which was the great grievance in the reigns of the two laſt kings of England and Spain. All the memorials are totally ſilent upon this ſubject. So that here is a pretence for war, or for putting us to three or four millions expence, whenever Spain thinks proper. This intereſting point and claim of

of Spain, *to ſearch* our merchant ſhips and veſſels, whenever ſhe thinks proper, ſtands upon the old equivocal ground. No advantage is taken of this fact, to aſcertain the pretended right to preciſe limits; which our late formidable armament might have obtained. By the looſe manner in which the convention is worded, we may ſee in every article of it, the ſeeds of future contention.

Auguſt 14, Peace ſigned between Ruſſia and Sweden.

Auguſt 17, Lord Howe ſailed from Torbay with 31 ſail of the line, 9 frigates, 2 brigs, 2 cutters, 2 fireſhips, and a hoſpital ſhip.

Auguſt 17, Subſtance of the declarations and counter declarations ſigned at Reichenbach, printed in the London Gazette.

Auguſt 22, The Dutch fleet at Spithead returned to the Texel.

Auguſt 25, The National Aſſembly of France reſolve to fulfill the Family Compact. This reſolution was founded in impotence; it being an indiſputable fact, in the judgment of all Europe, that the Government and Finances of France, were in no ſtate to invite and ſupport a war.

Auguſt 28, Lord Howe and his fleet ſeen off the Lizard.

[During all this month, the moſt vigorous preparations are continued.]

Sept. 1, Began to aſſemble a fleet in the Downs; ſuppoſed for the Baltic.

Sept. 12, The fleet ſailed from the Downs to Portſmouth.

Sept. 14, Lord Howe and the fleet arrived at Spithead.--They went only about 20 leagues S. W. of Scilly.

Sept. 18, An account of the *ſearching* of the Trelawney Planter, publiſhed in London.

[During all this month, the moſt vigorous preparations continued as uſual.]

Oct. 15, A committee of the Weſt India merchants wait upon Lord Chatham, reſpecting a convoy for their trade; when they are told, that they ſhall have notice of a convoy being appointed, if circumſtances require it.--- Here is a declaration, *per force*, amounting to an acknowledgement, on the part of the Britiſh cabinet, that no war is intended. The king of Spain repeatedly declared, that he did not deſire war.

Oct. 24, The Convention is agreed upon at Madrid, between Mr. Fitzherbert, and the Spaniſh miniſter.

Oct.

Oct. 27, Admiral Corniſh ſailed from Portſmouth, with ſix ſail of the line, and one frigate.

Oct. 28, The Convention is ſigned at Madrid, between Mr. Fitzherbert, and the Spaniſh miniſter.

Oct. 31, Forty ſail of the line at Spithead.

[During all this month, the moſt vigorous preparations continued, as uſual.]

Nov. 4, A ſhort notice was publiſhed in the Gazette extraordinary, that a convention with Spain had been agreed upon.

Nov. 7, Another Gazette extraordinary was publiſhed, acquainting the Public that convention was ſigned.

Two days afterwards, the Convention was publiſhed; when it appeared, that after this long Negociation, extravagant preparations, and immenſe expence, we had gained no more than preciſely the ſame terms, which we might have had in the month of May laſt, and without any expence.

The reſtitution of the veſſels captured at Nootka Sound, had taken place before the Negotiation commenced.

And as to the whale fiſhery, Count de Florida Blanca, ſays, that our demands were made, "in ſuch terms as might tend to calm the anxieties, and to maintain the friendſhip, ſubſiſting between the two Courts." Spain had

had no cauſe to be very tenacious upon a point, which was no ſurrender on her part. And we ſo far from having gained an ecclariſſement with Spain, have *added* new ſubjects to her former claims of diſputation.---If the Southern whale fiſhery had deſerved a preference to the Northern, or had been a matter deſerving of attention, the Dutch would have entered into it long ago: Nor can it be ſuppoſed, that our own South Sea Company would not have adopted the meaſure, when the ſubject of the whale fiſhery was, during ſeveral years, a point of frequent and anxious diſcuſſion in the Court of Directors*.

I have now gone through all the ſubjects of our converſation, except the *Continental*; the conſideration of which, would be too extenſive for this Letter; and therefore I have reſerved it for another, if I ſhould have leiſure to write it.

I am, &c.

BATH,
*Nov.* 15, 1790.

* See the Arguments ſtated in Elking's View of the Whale Fiſhery; ſhewing the national and private advantages thereof. With Sir John Eyles's Letter; who at that time was Sub-Governor of the Company.